FESTIVALS, SPORTS AND PASTIMES OF INDIA

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AHMEDABAD

Published by

Hariprasad G. Shastri
Director,
B. J. Institute of Learning and Research,
R. C. Road, AHMEDABAD 380 009 (India)

Price Rs. 40-00

First Edition * Copies 500

1979

Printed by

Shivlal Jesalpura
Swati Printing Press,
Rajaji's Pole, Shahpur Chakla,
Ahmedabad-380 001

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Dr. V. Raghavan delivered these lectures under our Series on Indian Culture on the 12th, 13th and 14th October, 1972.

The author keenly desired to revise the press-copy of his lectures and supplement some matter to it. On account of his manifold undertakings it took some five years for finalising the press-copy. He spared no pains in correcting the proofs and preparing the *addenda et corrigenda*, the detailed Bibliographies and the various Indexes. We were highly impressed with his persistent patience and forbearance. We, however, deeply regret to note that Destiny took him away from the world on 5th April, 1979, leaving a few pages of this work unprinted. Alas, the author did not survive to see the publication of this monumental work prepared by him with great love of labour.

The late Dr. V. Raghavan was a prolific and versatile scholar in Sanskrit and Indology. He was intimately associated with all outstanding organisations of Sanskrit Studies in India and abroad. He was a Jawaharlal Nehru Fellow (1960–70) and President, International Association of Sanskrit Studies for several years. His facile pen has ranged over the whole gamut of Sanskrit literature. His analytical acumen, critical faculty, deep erudition and flowery eloquence have won the admiration of the entire scholarly world.

When Dr. Raghavan passed away suddenly, Dr. Miss S. S. Janaki who was his past student and has been

associated with his academic activities for several years, including the present work, undertook the finalisation of the remaining part of this publication. I thank her sincerely for her active co-operation at the final stage.

On being invited to deliver lectures in our Series on Indian Culture, Dr. Raghavan selected 'Festivals, Sports and Pastimes of India' as the theme of his lectures. I hope this work on one of his favourite subjects will prove to be interesting and illuminative to those interested in Indology.

Ahmedabad
June 28, 1979

H. G. Shastri
Director

PREFACE

In traditional culture work and play went together, and in Indian tradition there was religious orientation as well. The Indian Festivals and Sports is a fascinating theme indeed. However the period, the geographical area, and the material on the subject are vast and prodigious. A comparative study, with parallel forms known through the ages in other parts of the world gives the treatment an extra enlightening dimension.

Prof. Raghavan has had occasions to deal with the theme of festivities, pastimes and vratas, individually and collectively, in his writings in Tamil, English and Sanskrit, – as for example in his *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (3 rd edition 1978, pp. 627–43), *Ṛtu in Sanskrit Literature*, (L. B. Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Delhi 1972), in his edition of Durlabha's 'Ṛtuvarṇana' (in *Malaya-māruta* II, 1971) which has a rich cultural milieu, and in his articles, 'Māṭṭuppoṅgal', 'Māśi Paṅguni Anuṣṭhānaṅgal' and 'Cittirai Viḷākkal' (all in Tamil, published, in *Śilpaśrī*, Madras, Vol. I, 1939), 'Dīpāvali' (in English–*Illustrated Weekly*, 13th November, 1955) and in his original Sanskrit poem 'Saṅkrāntimahaḥ' (*Samskrita Pratibhā*, III. ii, October, 1961). On the 'Hindu Festivals' he had delivered Lectures at the Kern Institute, Leiden, and at the University of Chicago in 1964. But it is in his three lectures delivered on 12th, 13th and 14th October, 1972 at the Sheth B. J. Institute of Learning and Research on 'Festivals, Sports and Pastimes of India' that he has fully covered the theme. In

the present study, as elsewhere, he shows his mastery of the minutiae of the subject, and also the over-all comprehension.

Between the delivery of the lectures and the final appearance in print, Prof. Raghavan had opportunities to visit Burma, South-East Asia, United States and Canada and the valuable information assimilated by him during these tours have also been included in the book.

The most unexpected thing occurred on 5th April, 1979 when Prof. Raghavan passed away suddenly. At that time all the matter in this book had been printed; only the two last formes of the Index were going through the press. It is my melancholy duty to thank the Sheth B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad, and its Director Dr. Hariprasad G. Shastri for the arrangements made for these lectures and the interest evinced in their publication. It is a matter of deep regret that Prof. Raghavan is not alive to see the full book in print.

20th June, 1979
MADRAS

S. S. JANAKI

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Festivals, Sports and Pastimes of India

I

(i)

Festivals form an integral and important part of the life, civilization and culture of a people. Several of them had their origin in the primitive stage of the peoples. There have been no people in any part of the world who have not had their festivals.[1] The festivals were closely woven into the web of the lives of the people. The primary activity of man was the collection of food and agriculture; he was most concerned with vegetation,[2] its decay and regeneration, and sowing and reaping; the elements of Nature which had their most prominent impact on him were the Sun and the Moon and the Constellations and the phenomena associated with these like light and darkness and re-emergence of the former[3] and the cycle of seasons; the Sky and

1. E. g. The Tablet of Instructions of the Hittites enjoined eighteen festivals, some of which were named after the seasons and which included a festival to the Sun-Goddess Arinna. The *Hittites*, G. R. Gurney, Pelican Series, p. 151.
2. See J. J. Meyer's *Trilogie altindicher Maechte und Feste der Vegetation* (Trilogy of Hindu Vegetation Powers and Festivals). The myths and cults of Osiris, Adonis, Attis and Dionysus were related to corn, its decay and re-generation, vegetation, harvest etc. See *Golden Bough*, One Volume Abridgement, London, 1950, pp. 368–77, 424.
3. E. g. The Celtic Fairs and Festival of *Lugnassad* in ancient Ireland which 'marked the victorious close of the sun's contest with the powers of darkness and death, when the warmth and light of that luminary's rays, after routing the

 [fn. contd. on p. 2

the Earth with which he lived were his parents.[4] It was therefore most natural that his activity in relation to these, the importance he attached to these, his gratitude and his adoration of these expressed themselves in the form of festivities, sacrifices and offerings.[5] These also marked the major classes of the earliest festivals and celebrations of mankind in all parts of the world. In addition to these and arising from factors related to some of them like fertility, there developed the idea of the great mother-goddess, *Magna Mater*, and her worship. The acts relating to the dead and the periodic observances for the ancestors formed the central factors of another class of festivals[6] and rituals. The seasonal changes and viscititudes and set-backs gave

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fn. contd. from p. 1]

colds and blights, were fast bringing the crops to maturity'. Prof. Rhy's, 'On the origin and growth of religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom' quoted by Tilak in 'The Arctic Home in the Vedas', p. 397.

4. *Cf.* Ṛgvedic Dyāvā-Pṛthivī.
5. *Cf.* J. Gonda : "Originally, festivals were ... but events bearing upon the cyclical life of nature, especially upon the growth of cereals etc." - Skt. *Utsava* "festival", p. 146, *India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947. Accordingly he derives the word 'Ut-sava' etymologically from the root 'sū', and as signifying generation, stimulation, production etc. See *ib.*, p. 151 ff.
6. Particularly on the funeral rites and ancestor worship and their relation to the evolution of the arts of drama and dance, see William Ridgeway, 'The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races', Cambridge, 1915. See also *Ṛv.* X.18.3, *Av.* XII.2.22. *Taitt. Āraṇ.* VI.10.2 : प्राञ्चो अगाम नृतये हसाय; after the funeral the kinsmen went eastward or turned eastwards and disported themselves with dance and laughter.

rise to the sense of the forces of evil, of disease etc. and the periodic acts of exorcising, driving and throwing them out and the doing of this through bon-fire, effigy-burning and a scapegoat. When tabooes, conventions and restrictions were controlling human conduct, there arose naturally a feeling for some occasion to set these aside, for men and women to abandon themselves and give themselves all kinds of licence.[7] Some festivals marked by such uninhibited behaviour also grew. These are the major or basic forms of festivals and other similar acts; in different parts of the world and among different peoples, details gathered round these which contributed to their difference and variety.

(ii)

A study of these festivals from early times all over the world shows certain recurrent historical phenomena. Apart from details which they gathered in the local setting, they attracted to themselves the features of lesser celebrations; there was coalescence, as a result of which some festivals grew in magnitude and gained multiple significance. The movement of peoples and the contact and conflict of different cultures, characterised by different cults and religious practices, led to earlier pagan festivals being absorbed by similar ones in the new culture or adapted to the acts and personalities of the new culture.[8] A process of pouring new wine

7. J. J. Meyer's *Trilogie* devotes attention to this aspect also. *Cf.* the Bacchanalia of Greece and later of Rome and the Roman Saturnalia to some extent.

8. See James Frazer, 'The Golden Bough,' *op. cit.*, pp. 356 ff., Oriental Religions in the West. See also *BSOAS.*, London, X, pp. 632–53, 'The Iranian Festivals Adopted by the Christians etc.' by S. H. Taqizadeh.

into old bottles has always been in operation. An examination of Christian festivals, including the most important ones among them – Christmas and the Nativity of Christ – are all taken over from the earlier Mitraism which had a stronghold over the people;[9] on one side the old festivals could not be ignored and on the other, it was by harnessing them that the new religion could consolidate itself. A study of the festivals in this large country of India reveals several illustrations of this same process, as we shall see presently.

This brings us to the role of the festivals in the spread and consolidation of a culture. The people at large who worked and toiled, the affluent ones, the religious leaders and the priests, and above all the Chiefs and Kings, all contributed to this spread and consolidation. The King especially who had a high role in ancient societies and was even deified, played a special part in many of the festivals, being the chief performer of or the one who inaugurated a festival. The festivals, as we can see from their character as described above, covered the whole area of man's activity, his life, sustenance, growth and enjoyment. The celebrations of these and the carrying on of life's activities were fused together in early societies and in traditional culture, work and play went together. Many of the festivals had one dimension in religion and another in enjoyment, music, dance, jest, games etc. forming essential parts of the celebrations. The King had

9. See Franz Cumont, 'Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism,' Dover Publications, New York. V. Raghavan, 'Worship of the Sun,' *Purāṇa*, Varanasi, XII.2, pp. 206–211.

therefore a special duty to see to the eelebrations of these festivals which were responsible for the joy and prosperity of his people and country. Whether it was the sacrifices in the *Vedas* or the other periodic observances all through the year as seen in the *Atharva-pariśiṣṭas*, the later *Dharma Nibandhas* or the court-dramas, we see clearly the King's role and responsibility in this respect. In fact, the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* says (II.67.15) that in the absence of a King, when there is anarchy, the festivals and festive gatherings, actors and dancers etc., all of which contribute to the prosperity of the Kingdom, do not flourish.

नाराजके जनपदे प्रहृष्टनटनर्तकाः ।
उत्सवाश्च समाजाश्च वर्धन्ते राष्ट्रवर्धनाः ॥

(iii)

On the Indian festivals, the period, the area and the material to be covered are vast and prodigious. The period begins with the *Vedas* and has to comprehend the forms in which the ancient festivals survive to this day. Besides Sanskrit writings and Brāhmiṇical sources, there are those in Pāli and Prākṛts belonging to Buddhism and Jainism. Then in the later periods there are the regional literatures and local material, as also the folk-material. From what has been already said, it may be seen that a comparative study of these with parallel forms known through the ages in other parts of the world would be enlightening and fruitful. In the past, Indian culture had spread far and wide in the Western world and in large parts of the Asian continents where some areas like those of the South-East preserve to this day the Indian influences. The

parallels to or prevalence with some modifications of the Indian festivals in these areas add an interesting dimension to this study. Just as he made a momentous observation on the languages so also on the festivals, William Jones said : 'If the Festivals of the old Greeks, Persians, Romans, Egyptians and Goths, could be arranged with exactness in the same form with the Indian, there would be found a striking resemblance among them; and an attractive comparison of them all might throw light on the religion and perhaps on the history of the primitive world.' Much work has since been done in this comparative field by Frazer and others. Full justice to all these aspects is of course not possible in these three lectures, but as none of these could be completely ignored, I shall, to some extent, take note of the data of such comparative study.

(**iv**)

Festivals, like other human institutions, undergo changes and have their own history and evolution. Even in its earliest phases a shift of emphasis, a change in the character of an act as a sacrament, a sacrifice or a merriment is seen. The incorporation of an element of one into the other, of popular social gathering and merriment into a religious and sacerdotal celebration is common. In ancient times, the demarcation between the secular and religious was slender and in India, it is difficult to characterise a celebration as purely secular or purely religious. In a survey of the Festivals of India it would be difficult to give a full exposition of all the aspects. In the present undertaking, I propose to devote attention primarily to the social aspects and the secular and recreational elements. Although the main character

of the Indian ideology is its religious and spiritual orientation, in a subject like Festivals, it is necessary to draw attention to those aspects which bring out the zest and joy in life that the people displayed through these celebrations and activities and thereby give the much needed corrective to the one-sided view that this, the Indian, was an other-worldly culture or that it did not enrich life but impoverished it in respect of enjoyment.[10] The chief feature of festivals is that they are gatherings and brought people together for community activity and common participation and in this respect also, a study of the festivals provides the adjustment in the imbalance of the notion that the prevailing character of the Indian was insular, individualistic and non-associative. The festivals had an important part to play in the promotion of corporate life. As already indicated, the festivals also afford examples of elements of local or lesser traditions mingling with the larger main stream and thus building up an integrated national tradition. I have developed this theme in a study on the variety and integration in the pattern of Indian culture[11] and we shall see, as we go, how this theme is reinforced by the study of festivals.

From the most ancient times and in all parts of the world, the communal or recreational aspect of the festivals expressed itself in singing and dance. The arts of music and dance form a prominent part of Indian

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10. See my paper 'Is Hindu Culture Other-worldly ?,' *Twentieth Century*, Allahabad, 1937 and *Vedantakesari*, Madras, XXIII. iv, Aug., 1936.

11. *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, U. S. A, XV. iv, Aug. 1956.

festivals and this is true of even those celebrations which are predominantly sacred. The arts of music and dance are themselves major subjects; and even as we will not be able to explain fully in the present study all the religious elements, we will not also be able to deal in detail with these arts themselves when describing the festivals; only the part these arts play and the way in which they enrich the celebration could be pointed out. Several data pertaining to the history of these two arts come to our knowledge, particularly in the more ancient stages, through these festivals and this significant aspect will be taken note of in the present survey.

As in the case of religion, so in the case of the arts, the Indian tradition wove an integrated tapestry of life; the arts were not so much separately cultivated as they were integral parts of activities like sacrifices, festivals and religious functions. If the festivals served as an introduction to Indian religion or formed for some persons the only religious activities they could participate in, they, the festivals, served also as occasions to enjoy these arts.

The basis of festivals in their origin as well as in their later or fuller evolution is in the phenomena of Nature, of earth and sky, of the sun and the moon, of vegetation, trees, flowers and fruits, of the changing face and attractions of Nature which the march of seasons provided. These, like the arts, gave not only an aesthetic dimension to the festivals but also an integration with Nature which is a necessary stage in the realisation of the *summum bonum* of universalism aspired for by the Indian mind. Increasing alienation

from Nature is a feature of the march of material civilization through the ages; starting with harnessing and exploiting the natural resources, it has grown into the rape of Nature and the menacing pollution of environment. Areas are still left where those seeking relaxation and communion with water, tree or clear sky can resort to for a holiday but the survival of these areas is being threatened daily. The revival of festivals can be an effective means of re-capturing a fast decaying style or art of life in which man and Nature emerge and merge from and into one another.

There is hardly a day in the Hindu calender which is not marked by some feast or fast, some offering or happy celebration, some holy day or holiday. Many of these observances have disappeared during the centuries, particularly after the medieval and modern impacts from outside cultures like the Islamic and the Christian and Western. The surprise is that a good number of festivals, having a national character and strongly imbedded in our life, domestic and communal, still survives. It is in the very nature of things that new festivals arise like the purely secular ones today, the Bank-holiday, the Independence Day, etc.; but it is too soon to say what festive features even these will gather as time passes. Even from the modern point of view of national interests, festivals impart colour, joy and zest to life, contribute to mingling and participation in a common life of equality and fraternity, help the peresentation of a common cultural and national image and call for attention and efforts at preservation.

Recently in Bangkok the traditional Swing Festival was abandoned for a time after Thailand became free but the Government there soon realised that this colourful festival was a tourist attraction and dollar-getter and resumed it. The deterioration in culture, arts and festivals, caused by modernism, technology and production could, let us hope, be retrieved or arrested at least by tourism.

II

It is well-known that the attitude of the Vedic Indian was marked by a desire for the good things of life, long life, cattle, progeny, wealth, acquisitions, prosperity and happiness. It is these that he asked for in his prayers to the different deities and sought for through the several sacrifices and offerings which he did round the year. The most prominent popular activity at which the people of that age assembled and gave expression to their human urges was the *Samana*. *Samana* which is mentioned often in the *ṚV*[12] and occurs also in the *Śukla YV*. and *AV*., and which has been taken by some ancient authorities and some modern scholars as meaning 'a battle', was realy a festive popular gathering as is clear from the many references to its features. There is an essential connection between the two meanings in some of the noteworthy activities

12. For references to the actual passages in these texts mentioning *Samana*, Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, may be seen. For the *ṚV*. passages bearing on this and a detailed discussion, see Kalicharan Shastri, *New Indian Antiquary*, II, 1939–40, pp. 156–162.

at the *Samana,* like contests and competitions[13] in feats of archery and racing with chariots and horses.

In another part of the large area where the *Samana* took place, poets collected and recited their compositions; young and old, men and women came here; from the reference especially to the women coming in their best dress and ornaments, it is clear that the *Samana* was also a public *Svayamvara* where women chose their husbands. Not only young women desiring marriage but also public women made free use of the occasion and plied a brisk trade.[14] In the midst of the *Samana*-ground burned a fire from which

13. *Cf.* The word *Raṅga* which meant both the arena of contests and duels as well as the stage for dance and drama. The way in which the spirit of competition between tribes or the sexes displayed at festivals had a civilizing influence has been shown by Marcel Granet in his book *Chinese Civilizatian* (quoted by J. Huizinga in his *Homo Ludens*). "The spirit of Competition" says Granet, "which animated the men's societies or brotherhoods and set them against one another during the winter festivities in tournaments of dance and song, comes at the beginning of the line of development that led to State forms and institutions." Summarising Granet, Huizinga says (p. 54): "Every ceremony well performed, every game or contest duly won, every act of sacrifice auspiciously concluded, fervently convinces archaic man that a boon and a blessing have thereby been procured for the community."

14. It was because of this aspect of the *Samana,* which was the same as the later *Samāja* and *Samajyā,* that the *Dharma Sūtras* prohibited students from attending it and Aśoka also, seeing its many evils, prohibited its holding (Rock Edict 1).

it could be seen that these merriments went through all night; the people are said to disperse at dawn.

Popular or primitive indulgences like the above which persisted were evidently incorporated in some of the sophisticated sacrifices organised and conducted by the priests. Speaking of the Vedic sacrifices in his '*The Religion of the Veda*', Bloomfield says that "they (the sacrifices) had in them the elements of public, tribal or national festivals."[15] Two such sacrifices of the Vedic times are the *Mahāvrata* and *Sautrāmaṇi*. The *Mahāvrata* is described in several Vedic texts.[16] It is celebrated as part of other *Sattras* like *Gavāmayana*. The following features of the *Mahāvrata* may be noted: (1) The priest sits on a swing and swings and touches the ground.[17] (2) On either side of the *Āgnīdhra* priest there are two posts tied with two round pieces of skin and the King, riding on a chariot driven

15. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York & London, 1908, p. 214

16. The *Aitareya* and *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyakas*, the *Taittirīya Samhitā* and *Brāhmaṇa*, the *Kāṭhaka Samhitā* and the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śrauta Sūtras* of *Śāṅkhāyana*, *Lāṭyāyana* and *Kātyāyana*

17. The *Ait. Āraṇ*. assigns many esoteric meanings to the Swinging. Kumārila in the *Tantravārttika* (I.3), when discussing some *ācāras* and practices, mentions the Swinging in the *Mahāvrata* as a mere relaxation. On Swinging, see Frazer, p. 289 : "On the principles of homeopathic or imitative magic it might be thought that the higher the priests swing the higher will grow the rice, ...swinging is practised by the Letts of Russia with the avowed intention of influencing the growth of the crops. ..for the higher he (the Lettish peasant) rises in the air the higher will his flax grow that

[fn. contd. on p. 13

round the Fire, shoots three arrows which stick there. (3) There is another round white skin for whose possession a *Vaiśya* and a *Śūdra* struggle. (4) Two persons keep on a sort of literary duet, one indulging in praises and the other in abuses. (5) A *Māgadha* (minstrel) and a *Puṃścalī* (harlot) converse on a subject which is quite obvious. (6) In line with the above, the *maithuna* of *bhūtas* is mentioned but is said to have been *purāṇa* i.e. no longer prevalent. (7) Music and dance formed a prominent part of the *Mahāvrata*: (a) There was a *bhūmi-dundubhi*, a hollow on the earth covered with stretched hide which was beaten with the tail of an animal. There were, along with this, shouts by the priests. (b) There was a lute of hundred strings (*Śatatantu, Vāna*) played by women. In fact we come to know of a large variety of lutes that were in use in those ages: *Avaghaṭarikā* probably same as the *Apāghāṭalikā* of some texts, *Alābu-vīṇā* (the gourd-lute), *Ghāṭakarkarī*, *Godhā-vīṇā* (the one with the skin of the lizard stretched over), *Kāṇḍa-vīṇā* or *Ghāṭarī* played with a plectrum, *Tambalavīṇā* and *Kapiśīrṣṇī*. (c) The *Picchorī* (*◦rā, ◦lā*) played was a flute. (d) Four or six other drums were also used, some of these outside the *Sadas*. (e) With all these there was the singing of *Sāmans*.[18] (f) The last and most striking feature is

fn. contd. from p. 12]

season." On two ritual Swing festivals surviving among the tribals in Western Central India, see 'Contributions to the Swinging Festival in Western India' by Rifa Wiesinger and Josef Hackel, Acta Ethnologica et Linguistica, No. 13, Series Indica 2, Vienna 1968.

18. The *Sāmans*, it may be noted, were sung not only to lutes but also to drums; see *Śatapatha* 5.1.5.17: दुन्दुभिनाभि साम गायति ।

Dāsyaḥ, women-servants or courtezans carrying water-pots singing, beating the ground with their feet, as also their thighs with their palms, and dancing round the *Mārjālīya* Fire, the burden of their song being 'This is honey'; they finally pour the water in their pots on the Fire.

The above features point clearly to a popular old festival which was adapted into a sacrificial rite or had its own symbolic meaning. In his '*Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*', Keith takes the *Mahāvrata* as an old festival of Winter Solstice. The *Hotṛ* priest's swinging on a Swing is taken as symbolic of the Sun's movements and indeed *ṚV*. VII.87.5 describes the Sun as the golden swing in the sky: दिवि प्रेङ्खं हिरण्ययम् ।[19] The white skin which is pierced and fought for, is also taken as symbolic of the Sun's disc. But there are the other features, of music and dance and of talk with a harlot and *maithuna* which require explanation. These are evidently vestiges of an older festival of merriment and uninhibited indulgence. In his separate discussion on the *Mahāvrata*,[20] Keith suggests some relation with the South Indian *Makara-Sankrānti*, the entry of the Sun in Capricorn and the Sun's northern course (Uttarāyaṇa) and the attendant *Poṅgal* festivity.

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19. Tilak, in his '*The Arctic Home in the Vedas*', p. 142, has a reference to the halting of the Sun in the midst of the heaven during the long continuous arctic day.

20. The *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka with an Appendix* on the *Mahāvrata*, Oriental Translation Fund, N. S. XVIII, The RAS., London, 1908

The *Sautrāmaṇī* was marked by similar licentious behaviour in respect of unlimited drinking and offering of *Surā* and free talk with harlots.

The *Gosava* was another sacrifice marked by licentious behaviour. Of all sacrifices, it is perhaps the most strange, as in it, the sacrificer has to behave like a *go*, eating grass with the mouth, drinking water in the same manner, bending his head down, in fact doing everything that a bull does, including indiscriminate mating.[21] It is obvious that there is a survival here of an old or primitive cult-cum-sport, which was incorporated and elevated into a sacrifice.

Two of the most popular pastimes of the Vedic Indian were chariot-racing and dice-playing. Both figured in the programme of sacrificial activities. According to Frazer, racing of different kinds and for different purposes or as part of different celebrations, was common to the ancient IE peoples. The Chariot, the *Ratha*, was to the Vedic poet the very symbol of a well-chiselled and well-constructed thing and he often compared his own poem to the *Ratha*; the comparison extended also to the verse acting as a transpost for the *Ṛṣi* towards his deity. The *Ratha* was so much in the mind of the *Ṛṣi* that almost all the parts of the *Ratha* are referred to in the hymns, each with its specific name. Many of his gods rode

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21. *Āpast. Śr. Sū.* XXII,12.17–20; 13.1–3 Garbe's edition, *Bib. Ind.* Vol. III. G. H. Thite, *Journal of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda* XX 1.3 (March 1972), pp. 194 ff. For ancient sports with animal masks, see *Ency. Americana* XI. 153.

chariots, especially Indra and the Sun; and later in the Upaniṣad (*Kaṭha*) he saw in the *Ratha* the image of man's body, the rider the soul, the senses the horses, the mind the reins, the intellect the charioteer; or still later, the Lord exemplified by Kṛṣṇa (*Gītā*) the guide-charioteer. The *Ratha* was made out of wood and its dimensions are set forth in the *Śulba-Sūtras*, as in the case of the sacrificial altars. The makers of the chariots, the *Rathakāras*, were higher in status than other workers of the fourth class and were given a special position in the sacrificial scheme. The charioteer, *Sūta*, too had a privileged position as he was inviolable, *ahantya*, and we shall see more of him when we come to the Epics. The *chariot-race* or horse-race also served as the prototype of contests, as the Devas and Asuras are said to run such a race to get at *Soma* first (*AB*. 2.9.1).

The ground of the chariot-race was called *Āji*, a word shared also by the meaning 'battle-ground'; the race-course was broad and oval; the distance to be covered was measured and set forth and the victors were given a prize, *dhana*; the fleet horses, of which two to four were yoked, were well attended to, washed and decorated. Horse and chariot-racing along with circus and gladiatorial displays were, it may be recalled, popular pastimes among other ancient peoples too e. g. the Romans.

Chairot-racing, it is more significant to note, formed part of the sacrifices of *Rājasūya* and *Vājapeya*. The *KYV* (I.7.7–12) describes it as forming part of the *Vājapeya* and gives the *mantras* to be used for every act in this, beginning with the priests mounting

the chariot and ending with the reaching of the goal. The sacrificer rides along with his wife, both of them wearing golden garlands, and he is to come out successful in the race in which seventeen chariots are made to paricipate. At midday the course to be run is marked by a warrior with seventeen arrows, marking with an *udumbara* twig the spot where the last arrow falls. The sacrificer rides a *Ratha* of three horses, and sixteen other persons, *Rathas* of four horses. Drums are mounted on the *Rathas* and beaten. A Brahman climbs a post to which a wheel of *udumbara* wood is attached, is rotated on the wheel thrice, and sings a *Sāman*. The horses are made to smell *Surā*[22] and *Madhu*. The sacrificer and his wife get up to the top of the pillar (*yūpa*) with the help of a ladder to reach the top-piece (*Caṣāla*), made of dough of wheat (*Gaudhūma*) in a circular form[23] and then get down and sit on a throne. The whole performance concludes with seventeen benedictions called *Ujjitis*.

The word *Vājapeya* means 'drink of strength' and the chariot race and the horses could easily symbolise strength, swiftness and success. But the elements of the race of chariots, all of which cannot be adequately explained, show that it was an imitation of an old pastime or festival incorporated into and codified as a *Soma* sacrifice to be performed independently or as part of other larger sacrifices. Keith says that these

22. That horses were given *Surā*, evidently to exhilerate them and make them run faster, is seen from the expression *Aśvasuram* given in the *Padamañjari* II.1.36.

23. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* V.2.1.6

features represent the 'many traces of popular religion' and as taken by several scholars, the *Vājapeya* was a festival of the autumn.[24]

The other pastime most popular in Vedic India which continued in its popularity, often leading to disastrous results, to the Epic period, is *Dyūta*, playing Dice. Many details of the dice, as of the chariot, are named in the *Veda*. Gambling is indeed a very old pastime of man.[25] Nuts of the *Vibhītaka* tree, brown in colour, or sometimes their golden replicas, were used as dice. Normally four or five dice were used, each having its specific name, *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara*, *Āskanda* and *Abhibhū* or *Kali*.[26] These names which referred also to the throws, occur already in the *Ṛgvedic* hymns. *Kṛta* means four, *Tretā* three, *Dvāpara* two and *Kali* one, and it is significant that later, four of these became well-known as the names of the four *Yugas* of time. In *ṚV*. X.34.8, the number of dice is given as *Tripañcāśa* which has been differently taken by different scholars

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24. P. 339, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, part II; See also Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Introduction, cviii–cxi.
25. See Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens – A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston Reprint, 1955), pp. 57ff. : 'With many peoples dice-playing forms part of their religious practices.' He refers to Śiva and Pārvatī playing dice and the epic *Mahābhārata*. Regarding *Mahābhārata* and dice, he quotes from G. J. Held, *The Mahābhārata : An Ethnological Study*, Leiden, 1935, that it is 'a work of interest for the understanding of the connection between culture and play. See also below festivals like *Dyūta-pratipad* in which dice has to be played as part of the celebration.
26. *Taitt. Saṁ.* IV. 3.3.1.2

as meaning 15 or 53 or 150. The throw in general was called *Graha* or *Grabha*, and the former in its form *Glaha*[27] later became a synonym of gambling. The dice were evidently marked with dots whereby perhaps they were called *Akṣa* (eye). The game was played on the ground. Ritual playing of dice formed part of *Agnyādheya* and *Rājasūya*. The King was to provide for dice-halls, *Sabhās*.

The game had a great destiny and a ritual playing of it persisted as we see when we come to later festivals. Its popularity naturally led to the dangers inherent in it. Its main objective being staking and winning, the one addicted to it went to any length in his staking and lost everything. Some became so much slave to it that even if they could no longer play and had nothing left to stake, they continued to haunt the *Sabhās* and stood watching the games played by others; they are humorously called *Sabhā-sthāṇus* or the pillars of the hall. The addiction to it and the profit which clever ones could make of it led to the manipulation of the dice, like loading, and the throws; and the words for the gambler *Kitava* and *Dhūrta* pejorated into the meanings of cheat and rogue, as indeed it was the case with adepts at the game like Śakuni. We shall pursue this when we come to the Epics, but the ruin it brought over domestic life is already described graphically in one of the best poems in the *ṚV*, X.34 known now very well as the Gambler's lament.

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27. It is from this word that the Tamil Word 'Kaḷaha' most widely used now to refer to associations inculding political parties, is derived.

The following points may be drawn attention to, in this hymn of fourteen verses. 1. The very sight of the nuts on the *Vibhītaka* tree infatuated the addict, like the *Soma*-juice (1). 2. There is a momentary flash of wisdom about the danger in store in the game but once the sound of the dice that is thrown is heard, there is no resisting of the temptation and the addict goes there like a courtezan to her tryst (5). 3. In their tempting power, the dice are said to be coated with honey and in the ruin they cause, they are described as hooked, piercing, deceitful and burning (7). 4. The fateful stranglehold they had over the society on the high and the low alike is brought out by v.8 in which the movement of the dice is compared to the inexorable laws of the Sun or the wrath of the mighty to which even Kings have to bow (8). The verses depicting the pathetic destitution to which the gambler and his home had been reduced by the losses in this game may be quoted :

" She (the wife) does not scold me, she is not angry: she was kind to friends and to me. For the sake of a die too high by one, I have driven away a devoted wife.

" My mother-in-law hates me, my wife drives me away, the man in distress finds none to pity him; I find no more use in a gambler than in an aged horse that is for sale.

" Others embrace the wife of him for whose possessions the victorious die has been eager. Father, mother, brother say of him, 'we know him not, lead him away bound.'

" Forsaken, the wife of the gambler is grieved; the mother (too) of the son that wanders who knows where. Indebted, fearing, desiring money, he approaches at night the house of others.

" It pains the gambler when he sees a woman, the wife of others, and their well-ordered home. Since he yokes the brown horses (dice) in the morning, he falls down (in the evening) near the fire, a beggar."

Honest agriculture is superior to the precarious hope of gaining in this deceitful game. The *Ṛṣi* appeals to the gambler (13):

" Play not with dice; ply thy tillage, rejoice in thy property, thinking much of it, there are thy cattle, O gambler, there thy wife; this *Savitṛ* here, the noble, reveals to me."[28] But the poet, the *Ṛṣi* that he is, sees that the addict, although completely broken, lives still in hope and he ends the poem with the pathetic appeal of the gambler to the dice to cease from their inimical attitude to himself, to transfer the enmity to his opponent and become his own friends and help him. It is because of this final touch that the hymn has been considered as a charm, or prayer to be recited for success in gambling rather than as a warning against the game.

Among the other Vedic Sacrifices and rites we may notice some seasonal observances: In the Āśvayujī-karmaṇ, observed on the Āśvayuk full-moon day, there are offerings to Indra, Aśvins and Paśupati with prayer for deficiencies being made up and fullness

28. Translation by A. A. Macdonell

being secured. According to the *Kāṭhaka Gṛ. Sū.*, it is also a festival of animals, horses etc. which are washed, deco rated, fed and yoked. As this celebration comes close after the *Vijayadaśamī*, the festival of horses etc. appears to have been assimilated with the *Vāji-nīrājana* on the *Vijayadaśamī*. The *Dhruvāśva kalpa* (II.vi) of the *Mānava Gṛ. Sū.* is related to the *Āśvayujīkarman*. The *Āgrayaṇa-iṣṭi* is described among both the *Śrauta* and *Gṛhya* rites. It is a *Haviryajña*, the sacrifice or offering of the first fruits to the deities. It represents the Indian counterpart of the Festival of the First Fruits, which is a thanks-giving festival, current among all peoples of the world from remote antiquity. Frazer describes the different forms in which it is celebrated by different tribes of the American Indians (*GB.* pp. 479 ff.).[29] The Jews had two harvest festivals, *Shovuos* which began with the sacrifice at a sanctuary of the first sheaf of the newly cut barely and the autumnal festival of *Ingathering* called *Asith* (*Asif*) in which the crops were reaped and fruits gathered and offered to God and there was drinking and revelry. This has been described as the greatest and the most joyous festival of the Jews in ancient times.[30] In the Āgrayaṇa Iṣṭi, rice was offered in Autumn, barely in Spring and so on, either as

29. See also Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 323, fn. 1 where he draws attention to the Mexican practice of eating fresh maize after performing a sacrifice. The Eleusinian Mysteries in Greece included the offering of first fruits to deities. Ridgeway, pp. 34–35.

30. *Festivals of the Jewish Year* by Theodor H. Gaster, William Sloane Associates, New York, 2nd edn., 1964, pp. 80 ff. See also *Seasonal Feasts and Festivals* by E. O. James, Barnes, & Noble, New York, 1963 edn., pp. 113 ff.

grains or as cakes made of them, to deities like Soma, Indra, Agni, Viśve-Devas and Dyāvā-Pṛthvī. There was also the gratification of the Manes (Pitṛs) on the occasion.[31] The routine *Agnihotra* was also performed with the first fruits. The rice or barely that was cooked was also given to the cow to eat.[32] The parallel Gṛhya-rite, described in many of the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, is the *Agrahāyanī* done on the full-moon day of *Mārgaśīrṣa* (December-January). It is a new year festival, accompanied by a cleaning of the house. The later and other forms of this we shall deal with in due course. This too had its parallel among the European peoples, e. g. the German New Year Festival to which Keith draws attention.[33]

The *Gṛhya* rite *Vṛṣotsarga* done on the full-moon day of the *Kārttika* was the letting off, with a *Mantra*, of an ornamented stud bull to the deity Rudra. In fact the *Gṛhya* rites comprised several agricultural festivals relating to ploughing *(Sītā-Yajña)*, the cattle, offering to the threshing floor *(Khala-Yajña)*, and sowing and harvest.

The festival of first ceremonial ploughing is described in detail in the *Gṛhya Sūtras* of Gobhila, Āśvalāyana, Śāṅkhāyana and Pāraskara and more vividly in the *Kauśika Sūtras*. The householder first and then the

31. See *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 16.6:

नवाग्रयणपूजाभिः संतर्प्य पितृदेवताः ।
कृताग्रयणकाः काले सन्तो विगतकल्मषाः ॥

The season mentioned is Hemanta.

32. See below the feeding of Cattle under Makara Saṅkrānti.

33. *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 362.

housewife do the first ploughing, make offering at the furrows and then hand over the plough to the tiller. We shall come across some of these again. In the description of the ploughing festival in Buddhist literature (the *Jātakas*), the ploughing is inaugurated by the King, handling a gold-ornamented plough.[34] Kashmir has a festival of first ploughing and first sowing of the seed (Kṛṣyārambha) (*Nīlamata*, vv. 560-8). In Thailand we have the survival of the *Āgrayaṇa* in the *Dhānyadāha* or *Dāhana* of the ears of paddy and of the *Vṛṣotsarga* in the worship of the sacred bull.

In the supplementary Vedic texts, the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭas*[35] describe some festivals, primarily from the point of view of the King who has to observe them. *Pariśiṣṭas* 17, 18a & b called *Rāja-karma Sāmvatsarīyam*—the observances to be performed by the King round the year, and 19 describe: (1) the waving of lights before the horses (*Vāji-nīrājana*) on *Āśvayuk Śukla Tṛtīyā* and *homa*s for the good of his horses and elephants, after decorating them, on the full-moon or new-moon day.[36] On the 9th of the bright fortnight of this month, the King should have all his *Vāhanas*, chariots etc., cleaned and have *Śāntis* performed. He should then have a ceremonial march on horse, symbolic of a victorious expedition, to the accompaniment of the war-drum (*dundubhi*). On the full-moon day,

34. See *Bud. Birth Stories*, T. W. Rhys Davids, Revised edition by Mrs. Rhys Davids, Indological Book House, Varanasi, Reprint 1973, pp. 163-4.

35. Edn. in Roman Script, Bolling and Nagelein, Leipzig, 1909, 2 Vols.

36. *Cf.* the *Āśvayujī-karman* dealt with under the *Sūtras*.

lights should be waved before elephants (*Hasti-nīrājana*) and on the 8th or 9th day, an image of Goddess Durgā made of flour should be worshipped (*piṣṭamayī-Durgā-pūjā*). The tenth is called *Aparājitā* or the day of non-defeat i. e. of victory, and the King should stage a *Vijaya-yātrā*, a symbolic victory-march. It will be clear, as one reads this, that all this is a part of the national festival known in later times as *Navarātri* or *Daśarāh*.

On the 13th day, called *Apāmārga-trayodaśī*, the *Apāmārga* herb is waved over the head of the King for his welfare.

For the first day after this series, *Pratipad*, the *AVP*. mention a festival of lights, *Dīpotsava*. On the following Navamī, called *Akṣaya-navamī*, *homas* for the welfare of horses, elephants and chariots are to be done; the same act is to be repeated on the 12th called *Viṣṇudvādaśī*.

The *Vṛṣotsarga*, already referred to, is then mentioned for the full moon day of *Kārttika*.

The *AVP*. then describe *Holākā* on Phālguna full-moon night and *Madana-trayodaśī* on Vaiśākha 13th in the afternoon of that day after the King has taken a *mantra-snāna*, i. e. by sprinkling on him the water sanctified by incantation of Vedic *mantras*.

The 19th *Pariśiṣṭa* is important, for it gives an account of one of the major national festivals of Ancient India, the *Indra-mahotsava* or the festival of Indra's

Flag-staff. Mentioned also in the *Kauśika Sūtras*, the *Indra*-festival was done in the bright fortnight of *Proṣṭha-pada*. The King and priest bathed, dressed neatly and started this festival with *homas* to Indra. Indra was then raised–अथ इन्द्रमुत्थापयन्ति i. e. a post was set up to represent Indra. Vultures and other dark birds should not cross this post and offerings were made to the post and honours shown. The festival is said to be of three days' duration and gifts were made to Brahmans at the conclusion. To all these festivals described in *AVP.*, as seen in later accounts, we shall come again.

III

It is not in the Vedas, but it is only in the Epics, that we have a full picture of the famous Vedic sacrifices as great social occasions. In fact, *Yajñas* were the biggest and most spectacular public performances at which large concourses of people from far and near, the city and countryside, and from all strata of society gathered, invited by the performer or uninvited. The performance of rites with the aid of the priests went on inside the Yajñavāṭa or pavilion for the sacrifice; but outside the actual place of the performance and all over the whole area outside, several side-activities went on for the diversion and recreation of the guests and visitors. We have such a full picture of the *Yajña* in the *Aśvamedha* of King Daśaratha in the first book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of Rāma as King in the last book of the same Epic and in the *Rājasūya* of Yudhiṣṭhira as King in the second book of the *Mahābhārata*,

From the account of Daśaratha's horse-sacrifice (I.13,14)[1], we find that a large area on the northern bank of the Sarayū was taken and experts in measurements, diggers, architects, carpenters, blacksmiths were employed to plan and prepare the ground for the sacrifice and and for the erections. Those learned in the *Śāstras* among the Brahmans, Kings and citizens and countryfolk of all castes were among the guests and pavilions and temporary residences for them were raised and these were furnished with supplies of food and drink. There was large scale feeding and rich and poor, *Tāpasas* and *Śramaṇas*, young folk, old ones, women and invalids, all ate; clothes were also presented and there was one continuous shout 'give, give'. The guests were also entertained with music and dance by *Naṭas* and *Nartakas*.

During the recesses of the rites, the eloquent Brāhmaṇ-scholars engaged themselves in debates, desiring victory over each other.

कर्मान्तरे तदा विप्रा हेतुवादान् बहूनपि ।
प्राहुस्स्म वाग्मिनो धीराः परस्परजिगीषया ॥

In the description of Rāma's *Aśvamedha* (VII, 91-93) for which a large area in the Naimiṣa forest on the banks of the Gomatī was taken, we see the same arrangements for temporary pavilions, the same kind of gathering and the same entertainments. There were *Naṭas* and *Nartakas* with their musical accompanists. The *Aśvamedha* city had streets and separate places for shops (*Paṇya-vīthīs*), for entertainments, for eating

1. Kumbhakonam edn.

and so on. There was a great concourse of scholars and experts in the various aspects of the literary art and in different branches of Sanskrit literature, *Paurāṇikas*, grammarians, poets, experts in prosody and poetics, and in music and dance, those quick in understanding of even things passing in one's mind, those versed in logic, *Veda, Vedānta, Jyotiṣa*, polity and the visual arts. It is in the midst of an assemblage of such varied talent and during the leisure in between the sacrificial acts *(Karmāntara)* that the two sons of Rāma recite the Epic on Rāma composed by Vālmīki, to the music of the lute.

The picture presented by Vyāsa of the *Rājasūya*, the other great royal sacrifice, in the Sabhā parvan of the sister Epic is on the same lines. We have a few more details and a more graphic portrait of the scholars at the keen debates they carried on during the intermission in the sacrifice. The guests in the pavilions where they stayed not only witnessed dances but had narrations of stories (*Kathayantaḥ kathā bahvīḥ* II.33.49, Gorakhpur Edn.). In the debates, some scholars posed propositions and proved them and others disproved them; some presented small things in such a manner that they appeared great, while others reduced great things to nothingness with their arguments. Like vultures tearing to bits a piece of meat, some gifted minds tore to pieces the arguments of others. Others, proficient in *Dharma* or *Artha* or other religious matters and masters of all commentaries, delighted in giving expositions.

कर्मान्तरमुपासन्तो जजल्पुरमितौजसः ॥
एवमेतन्न चाप्येवमेवं चैतन्न चान्यथा ।
इत्यूचुर्बहवस्तत्र वितण्डा वै परस्परम् ॥

कृशानर्थांस्ततः केचिदकृशांस्तत्र कुर्वते ।
अकृशांश्च कृशान् चक्रुः हेतुभिः शास्त्रनिश्चयैः ॥
तत्र मेधाविनः केचिदर्थमन्यैरुदीरितम् ।
विचिक्षिपुर्यथाश्येना नभोगतमिवामिषम् ॥
केचिद्धर्मार्थकुशलाः केचित्तत्र महाव्रताः ।
रेमिरे कथयन्तश्च सर्वभाष्यविदां वराः ॥

Chapter 36 (Critical Edn. Ch. 33)

It may be recalled that we owe the great work *Mahābhāṣya* to similar expositions by Patañjali when he was conducting the *Aśvamedha* for King Puṣyamitra. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we saw that it was during the *Aśvamedha* of Rāma that the boys moved round among the guests and their quarters reciting Vālmīki's Epic. In the *Veda*, we are told that the cyclic *Pāriplava* Ākhyāna was narrated. The background of the *Mahābhārata* also is a great *Sattra*. All the *Purāṇas* were, according to their own statement, narrated to the congregations at the long-session *Sattras* in the Naimiṣa forest.

In this connection we have to refer to the *Sūta* whom we briefly mentioned when dealing with the chariot race of the Vedic times. The *Sūta* was the royal charioteer and very close to the King, functioning more or less as a body-guard. He was also one of the counsellors and *Rāja-kartṛs* or King-makers. In addition to all these, he was the custodian of the annals of the royal house. The *Sūtas*, as a class, were bards and and minstrels and their profession was to recite benedictory and laudatory verses at dawn near the bed-chamber of the King to wake him up and also recite on occasions the lays of the royal houses, e. g. the

many heroic lays and sagas of old Kings incorporated into the *Mahābhārata.* The narration of *Ākhyānas,* and listening to them during the sacrifices or at other times came down from the Vedic times. It is to the *Sūtas* that we owe the preservation of the old *Ākhyānas,* the two *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas.* As Myles Dillon has pointed out, the IE bardic tradition had survived remarkably in the Sanskrit and Celtic cultures.[1] In India, the tradition was continued by *Māgadhas* and *Bandins* of the courts of the later times and Bhāṭs and Cāraṇs of Rajasthan and other parts of Northern India of the still later times.

In later ages other communities took over the role of these public reciters; of the *Sūta-Paurāṇika,* the *Paurāṇika* continued, though not the *Sūta.* In South India, the Pallava and Cola inscriptions attest the functioning of the public recital and exposition through local language of the two Epics and the *Purāṇas*[2] and to this day, especially in Tamil Nadu, the public readings and expositions of the two Epics and select *Purāṇas,* the *Bhāgavata* in particular, are listened to regularly by very large audiences who spend, every evening, over two hours in this edifiation and relaxation.

The Epics do not speak of chariot-race but they are full of descriptions of the *Ratha* as an important consti-

1. *The Archaism of Irish Tradition, Proceedings of the British Academy,* xxxiii, London, 1947.
2. See my '*Adult Education in Ancient India*', Memoirs of the Madras Library Association, 1944, pp. 57–65 and *Methods of Popular Religious Instruction in South India, Cultural Heritage of India,* Vol. IV, 1956, pp. 503–14, R. K. Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta.

tuent of the army. The military status of a warrior was in terms of the legion of chariots under his command, *Mahāratha*, *Atiratha* etc. The art of driving the chariot became a noteworthy accomplishment and Kings like Nala and Śalya earned a reputation as super-charioteers (*Sārathins*). *Rathacaryā* or the movement of the chariot on the battlefield and the manœuvres adopted were all codified and we get descriptions of these in the war-scenes of the two Epics in which a chariot-duel, *Dvairatha*, figures. The Princes underwent training in mounting and riding horses and elephants and chariot-manœuvres, *Aśvapṛṣṭha*, *Gajapṛṣṭha* and *Rathacaryā* (*Rāmāyaṇa* I.18.24). In the final *Dvairatha*-duel between Rāma and Rāvaṇa in which the latter was killed, the movements of the chariots resulting from the skilful driving of the *Sārathi*, the charioteer, are given as circular movements, straight, side-long ones in which one drives against the other, going forward and backward and several others (VI.110.3).

मण्डलानि च वीथीश्च गतप्रत्यागतानि च ।
दर्शयन्तौ बहुविधां सूतसारथ्यजां गतिम् ॥

The *Sūta* it was on whom all the burden and the conclusion of the conflict, successful or otherwise, depended. Just before this final encounter in the fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa,[1] before Indra sent his chariot and charioteer Mātali to Rāma to make the engagement equal on both sides, Rāma gave a marvellous display of his valour and archery and Rāvaṇa reeled under the ceaseless onslaught and was unable to draw his bow; his Sūta who was closely watching his master,

1. *Ibid.* VI. 105-6,

slowly and calmly drove his chariot away from the encounter. But being a great warrior Rāvaṇa did not like this, chided his *Sūta* harshly for making him run away from the fight like a coward and depriving him of the thrill of the fight with such a renowned enemy. On this, Rāvaṇa's *Sūta* comes out and gives us an idea of the duty, qualification and responsibility of a *Sūta*. The *Sūta* has to watch the signs regarding his master, the enemy and also his horses, the turn that things take, the time and place, read, as it were, the thoughts passing in the mind of the master, note his spirits, fatigue or exhilaration, the strength or its failure, the handicaps on the fighting ground like unevenness, pits etc., weakness or loophole on the enemy's side, going ahead for assault or withdrawing, the vantage spots, and the time for driving away from the scene. The *Sūta* who was an adept in all these was a *Ratha-Kuṭumbin*, one to whom everything about the chariot was entrusted and who took complete care and protected it, as a parent his family.

सर्वमेतत् रथस्थेन ज्ञेयं रथकुटुम्बिना ।

(VI.106.20)

Kṛṣṇa at the reins of Arjuna's chariot in the *Mahābhārata*-war was a *Ratha-kuṭumbin*, as the *Bhāgavata* calls him, *Vijayaratha-kuṭumba*.[1] Apart from the less equipped *Sūta*, there was also the handicap of an unhelpful and even detrimentally minded *Sūta*, the notable example of this latter being Śalya, whom unfortunalely Karṇa wanted as his charioteer, desiring one equal to Kṛṣṇa in chariot-manœuvre; from the way Śalya played

1. I. ix. 39

his role developed the expression *Śalya-sārathya* as a byword for an obstructionist-associate.

The young Kṣatriya, born to the duty of fighting, protecting and ruling, had, apart from the education common with *Brāhmaṇs* and the *Traivarṇikas*, his special training in the arts of fighting and in the acquisition of physical strength and skill. Sports and physical exercises formed an important part of his training. These were dealt with in *Dhanurveda*, one of the four *Upavedas*. Of these we have spoken of *Rathacaryā* and referred to mounting and riding horses and elephants. There is the chief equipment of archery, whose leading role is seen in the very name of the branch of knowledge as *Dhanurveda*. Archery is too large a subject to be gone into in detail in the present context but a few of its highlights may be touched upon. The two Epics project before us two of the greatest masters and exemplars of archery, Rāma who gained the name Kodaṇḍarāma and Arjuna. Two of the skills which the latter was famous for is one, the ability to shoot with the left arm as well as with the right, whereby he got the name *Savyasācin* and the other, to shoot at a target without looking at the object but by looking only at its image in water, a feat which was set as the test in the *Svayamvara* and by doing which he gained Draupadī as the Pāṇḍava wife. There are other feats and marvels which Arjuna is credited with performing with his bow and arrows like piercing the ground deep enough to force underground water to jet forth, to erect a bed of arrows, as also a ladder of arrows and a cage to protect a child all around. Shooting and adding arrow

upon arrow, his teacher Droṇa and he could reach a distant object, however small, and bring it, as we shall see when we come to the game called *Vīṭā*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* too there was the same test by a bow in the *Svayamvara* of the heroine, but it was here the lifting, bending and stringing of an extraordinarily large and heavy bow which had to be dragged in a carriage by a host of servants. There was a regular *Dhanuryāga* or a worship of the Bow conducted by the Kings in which there was a tournament which included feats of archery, of strength and pugilistic shows (*mallayuddha*). It was at one such *Dhanuryāga* or *Dhanurmaha* held by his uncle Kaṃsa that Kṛṣṇa, along with his brother, Balarāma, accounted for not only the terrible court pugilists but also the tyrant Kaṃsa himself. We shall come to *Mallayuddha* again. Like Arjuna with the bow, Bhīma was the unrivalled expert in wielding the mace, the *Gadā*, the other great adepts in the *Gadā* being Balarāma and Duryodhana. The mace-duel *Gadā-yuddha* between Bhīma and Duryodhana at the end of the great war is well-known. The mace-duel included movements to the right and left, circular ones (*maṇḍalas*), various stances (*sthānas*), release of the mace and striking, avoiding them by jumping aside, whirling round, and several others which are obscure (*M. Bhā.* XIII. 57. 17–2, Gorakh.).

Sword-play was cultivated as part of the military training but it was displayed also as part of festivities and processions, as we shall see later. Ancient India had developed a remarkable process of tempering steel for the manufacture of swords.

An aspect of sword-playing which deserves special notice is the four styles of doing it, which were called *Vṛttis* or *Nyāyas* for, it is these which became later the four *Vṛttis* of Sanskrit drama, *Bhāratī, Kaiśikī, Sāttvatī* and *Ārabhaṭī*. Sword-play was part of the festivities during which, as we shall see, Sanskrit drama was performed. I would invite your attention to my detailed study[1] on the *Vṛttis*, where I have dealt with this. The names of these four *Vṛttis* which were far older and of far wider provenance than the drama, were re-interpreted in drama. Originally they were the styles of sword-play as displayed by different peoples, the *Kaiśikas* or *Krathakaiśikas* of Vidarbha, the *Bhāratas*, the *Sāttvatas* and the last, *āra-bhaṭas*, perhaps not a specific clan of people but a class of people, namely those who were fierce fighters and exhibited more violent movements. The *Harihara-caturaṅga*,[2] a treatise on military science, by Godāvara Miśra of Orissa, applies these *Nyāyas* to archery and instead of *Ārabhaṭī*, gives *Pārṣata* and adds a fifth called *Chanda*. Differences in the extent of the drawing of the string and striking are given as the characteristics distinguishing these five styles.

Of the hand-to-hand fight, *Bāhu-yuddha* or *Malla-yuddha*, we have in the *Rāmāyaṇa* the example of the fight of *Sugrīva* and Rāvaṇa, before the battle of Laṅkā

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1. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras VI. iv., VII. i, ii. For the close relation of sports and the origin of drama, see W. Ridgeway, *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races*, University Press, Cambridge, 1915.
2. Madras Govt. Ori. MSS. Library, 1950, pp. 167–8.

started (VI.40.23-6). Vālmīki mentions here the circular movements of different kinds (*maṇḍalas*) different stances (*sthānas*), wavy or undulating movements (*gomūtrikās*), forward and backward moves (*gata-pratyāgatas*), moving across (*tiraścīna-gatas*), crooked moves (*vakra-gatas*), hittings (*prahāras*), bypassing the hits (*paridhāvana*), fast assault (*Abhidravaṇa*), jumping over the opponent (*āplava*), continuous fight, turning and coming back (*apāvṛtta* and *parāvṛtta*) and a few other movements not precisely clear, *avadruta, avapluta, upanyasta* and *apanyasta.*

In the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the King of monkeys, Sugrīva, who makes a pact of friendship with Rāma and with the latter's aid, wants to retaliate on his brother, the incredibly strong Vālin, wants to test Rāma's capacity to do away with Vālin. Vālin used to shake with his hands whole trees and had flung afar with his arms a huge carcass of the demon Dundubhi. To convince Sugrīva, Rāma pierces with his arrow the seven Sāla trees and the velocity of the arrow, not exhausted with that, pierced the earth deeply; and as for the mammoth carcass, Rāma did not even use his arms, but only his toe to fling it off over a distance. These two, as I have shown in one of my papers,[1] were not special or unique episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa;* they are really part of a series of feats of strength which young *Kṣatriyas* trained themselves in. The piercing of trees is part of the feats of archery and the other one is a feat of lifting and throwing weight. We see these also in the account of

1. 'Buddhological Texts and the Epics,' *Adyar Library Bulletin,* XXX. III-IV, pp. 349-59, especially p. 358.

the early life of the Buddha when he underwent all the training appropriate for a *Kṣatriya* prince. In the *Lalitavistara*, Ch. 12, 'Śilpasandarśana-parivarta,' we have a description of the display of feats of physical strength when the Buddha, as a boy, underwent training along with other Śākya-boys. This is found in the *Mahāvastu*[1] too.

The sports described here include: (1) lifting the dead body of an elephant by the toe and casting it over seven walls and seven moats of the city, a distance of a *Krośa*. (2) jumping, swimming and running; (3) throwing down strong wrestlers, *mallas*, in duels with them; (4) feats in shooting arrows: (a) piercing a series of iron-drums (*ayasmayī bherī*) placed at different distances (b) piercing seven *Tāla* trees, and an effigy of a boar (*varāha*) propelled by a *yantra* (mechanical contrivance) inside (*varāha-pratimā yantra-yuktā*); (5) lifting, bending and stringing a large and heavy bow. The young Buddha-to-be not only strung the bow but also shot his arrow so forcefully that it pierced the ground and created a well (*śarakūpa*). (6) Mounting horses and riding them; (7) mounting and riding elephants; (8) chariot-driving; (9) *Sthairya* or practising stability and firmness; (10, 11) handling the goad and noose; (12) getting up, proceeding against and withdrawing; (13) cutting and breaking things; (14, 15) *Muṣṭibandha*, *Padabandha* and *Śikhābandha* which are not clear; (16, 17, 18, 19) feats connected with archery: *Akṣuṇṇa*-

1. Edn. Senart, Paris, II. pp. 75–6; Radhagovind Basak's edn., Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series XXX, 1964, Vol. II, pp. 108–9.

vedhitva, *Marma-vedhitva*, *Śabdavedhitva* and *Dṛḍha-prahāritva*, shooting at fresh or uncommon targets (?), hitting at vital spots, shooting at a target without seeing it but aiming the arrow in the direction of the sound associated with the target, and hitting very hard; and lastly (20) playing dice.

Some of these like piercing the trees and the ground, lifting and flinging a heavy carcass, and shooting at a thing in the direction of his sound and without seeing it (*Śabda-vedha*), we have already noted in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is indeed the Epic illustrating the evil of hunting with the bow and arrow. It is Daśaratha's skill of shooting in the direction of the sound, *Śabda-vedhitva*, that brought about the end of the hermit boy and his disabled parents' curse. Some of the other items of the sports described in the life of the Buddha could be seen already in the training undergone by the young Kaurava and Pāṇḍava brothers in the first book of the *Mahābhārata* and the feats of archery associated with Arjuna.

In the *Mahābhārata* Ādiparvan, Ch. 119,[1] we are first told of the sports relating to speed (running), getting at targets and two others which are obscure: *Bhojya* which perhaps included feasting,[2] and *Pāṃsu-vikarṣaṇa* (14–15),[3] then hand to hand fights (22); we are then told of *Kākanilīyana* (16) which too is obscure but which the commentator says is a game; then is given a description

1. The Book I, Critical Edn.
2. See below Bhojya in the section on Jain literature.
3. Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary is of no help; it merely says that these are games of boys.

of the bathing sports of the boys (*jala-vihāra*) and their eating at the river side at the end of the sports which lasted the whole day; there were resting houses at the place of the bathing sports (*Vihārāvasatha*).

In Ch. 122, the would-be teacher to the boys in military science, Droṇa, is introducted through the game of *Vīṭā* (12ff.). The boys played *Vīṭā*, a game in which a short finger-size wooden piece is hit over a distance by a longer strick.[1] This game is still current and is called in Tamil *Kiṭṭippuḷ*, *Kiṭṭi* meaning the striking stick and *Puḷ*, the smaller piece that is struck. This is the game called tip-cat. That *Vīṭā* which was hit fell into a well and when they stood wondering how to get the *Vīṭā*, Droṇa who happened to pass by, brought back the small piece by shooting arrow upon arrow till the *Vīṭā* in the well was reached (14–18). As part of the training in archery that Droṇa gave to the boys is to locate a target placed in a manner difficult to locate (Ch. 123); Droṇa set an effigy of a vulture on a tree without the boys knowing it and asked them to locate and hit it; Arjuna did the feat. Another similar feat which too Arjuna performed is to shoot and kill a crocodile within the waters, which once caught the feet of his *guru* (68ff).

Ch. 124 describes a tournament held to enable the boys to display the exercises, sports and feats they had learnt. A large arena *(Raṅga-bhūmi)* with galleries, of seats all around for the spectators *(mañcas)* was got

1. Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary :
वीट्या यवाकारेण प्रादेशमात्रकायेन; यद् हस्तमात्रदण्डेन उपर्युपरि कुमाराः प्रक्षिपन्ति

ready. The skills that they exhibited comprised: (1) shooting at targets while speeding on horses (24); (2) riding elephants, horses and chariots; (3) archery; (4) sword-play (5) mace-duel; in this, Arjuna, the foremost among the boys, filled with arrows the mouth of a boar's metal effigy in motion (23) and also the inside of a bull's horn which was hung on a rope and was swinging (24).

In Book IV, Virāṭa parvan, Ch. 12, when the Pāṇḍavas are leading the *incognito* life in the Virāṭa court, there occurs the festival in honour of Brahmā. The commentator Nīlakaṇṭha says that this *Utsava* of *Brahmā* is celebrated in some parts of the country in autumn when the new crops have ripened : ब्रह्मण उत्सवः शरदि नवधान्योत्पत्तौ सर्वैः क्रियते; स च देशविशेषे प्रसिद्धः। As part of the festival the king arranges gladiatorial shows and Bhīma engages a famous wrestler Jīmūta and finishes him. There is a detailed description of the duel, mentioning the several acts of the *malla-yuddha*, but only in the vulgate version: interlocking of arms, pouncing upon one another, throwing off the opponent, fisting, dragging along the ground the one that falls, kicking with knee, and some other acts which are not clear (Gorakh. 13. 28–32). After accounting for the human species, Bhīma gave fight to wild animals kept there for the duels, tiger, lion, and elephants (4).

Related to archery is the sport *Mṛgayā*, hunting, which was a legitimate pastime of Kṣatriyas. It was considered also as a desirable pursuit for the training it gave in keeping the body fit, weight under control, movement easy, in studying the reactions of animals,

and markmanship, especially with moving targets. Pointing out these gains in his *Raghuvamśa* (IX.49)[1] and *Śākuntala* (II. 5),[2] Kālidāsa pleads for it as the foremost kind of sport, echoing Kauṭalya VIII. 3 :

मृगयायां तु व्यायामः, श्लेष्मपित्तमेदःस्वेदनाशः, चले च स्थिरे च काये लक्ष्यपरिचयः, कोपस्थानेहितेषु च चित्तज्ञानम् – ।।

See Daṇḍin also who mentions these and some more benefits of hunting in his *Daśakumāracarita* (VIII, Viśruta-carita, Candrapālita to the King). Hunting figures often in the Epics. Rāma, after crossing the boundary of his Kosala country, speaks nostalgically to Sītā that he longs to go huning in the Sarayū banks and that hunting is an approved sport of Rājarṣis (II. 49. 15–17). Again in reply to Vālin's criticism of Rāma shooting him down, Rāma says that Mṛgayā is an approved sport of Rājarṣis (IV. 18.40). However, hunting, like dice, was included in the ten vices, *vyasanas* born of Kāma by Manu (VII. 47) and other authorities on *Dharma*.

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1. परिचयं चललक्ष्यनिपातने
   भयरुषोश्च तदिङ्गितबोधनम् ।
   श्रमजयात्प्रगुणां च करोत्यसौ
   तनुमतोऽनुमतः सचिवैर्ययौ ।।

2. मेदश्छेदकृशोदरं लघु भवत्युत्थानयोग्यं वपुः
   सत्त्वानामपि लक्ष्यते विकृतिमच्चित्तं भयक्रोधयोः ।
   उत्कर्षस्स च धन्विनां यदिषवः सिद्ध्यन्ति लक्ष्ये चले
   मिथ्यैव व्यसनं वदन्ति मृगयामीदृग् विनोदः कुतः ।।

मृगयाक्षा दिवास्वप्नः परिवादः स्त्रियो मदः ।
तौर्यत्रिकं वृथाट्या च कामजो दशको गणः ॥[1]

That thoughtless indulgence in this leads to dangerous consequences is illustrated by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in Daśaratha trying his skill in shooting along the sound-track (*Śabdavedhitva*), mistaking the sound as that of an elephant, and Rāma's own pursuit of the golden deer.

The dangers of *Akṣāḥ*, dice, already the subject of a poem in the *Ṛgveda*, is illustrated by the other Epic, the *Mahābhārata*, the entire tragedy of the Epic being the outcome of the game of dice into which poor Yudhiṣthira was drawn. It shows how dice had become a well-established social activity which one found it difficult to avoid when invited to participate. Old Dhṛtarāṣtra called it the great danger and killer of Kṣatriyas – महद्भयं क्षत्रियजीवघाती (II.56.16, Gorakh). Vidura disapproved of it and Yudhiṣthira himself realised its dangers but was constrained to accept the invitation by the strong force of etiquette; he himself says :

आहूतोऽहं न निवर्ते कदाचित् (II 59.16), आहूतो न निवर्तेयम् (II.59.18).

This fatal drawback of accepting the invitation to dice as a matter of prestige has deep roots in heroic tradition; as Myles Dillon points out,[2] in *Irish*, it is called *Geis*, under which one was not free to decline the call.

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1. Daṇḍin, in the above mentioned context in the *Daśakumāracarita*, expatiates on the merits and advantages of some of the other *vyasanas*, besides hunting, namely *Dyūta* and *Striyaḥ*.

2. P. 8, *op. cit*.

Adepts *(Kṛta-hastas)* in gambling and its tricks were in the *Sabhā*, dangerous and deceitful, *Mahābhayāḥ* and *Māyopadhāḥ* (58.14), Śakuni, Vivimśati, Citrasena, and other notorious names in the game at that time. The fateful course of the game need not engage us now, as it is well known. But we may pause a little on a point that I have dealt with elsewhere, viz. the stripping of Draupadī's clothes. This last act is no addition but part and parcel of the accepted procedure of the play that those who lose everything in the stake should shake or throw off their garments, sit on the floor or go out bare-bodied to show that they have nothing left on their person and have submitted completely to the victor.[1]

Yudhiṣṭhira was fond of dice, but was not a capable player : अक्षप्रियश्च कौन्तेयो न च जानाति देवितुम्[2], and his pathetic submission to it for a second time, the *Anudyūta*, shows the fateful hold of the game on the addicts, which the *ṚV.* hymn already reflects; this is borne out further by the dangerous choice that Yudhiṣṭhira made at the completion of the exile to spend the one year of *incognito* life as a companion in dice for the king of the Virāṭas.

1. My Presidential Address to AIOC, 21st Session, Srinagar, Proceed. p. 14.

2. Similarly Balarāma was no adept in it but was fond of it : अनभिज्ञो हली द्यूते तथास्य व्यसनं महत् ।

Rukmin, Kṛṣṇs's brother-in-law, was an adept and on the occasion of the marriage of Aniruddha with Rukmin's daughter, Balarāma was invited to play and being unlike Yudhiṣṭhira, Balarāma turned violent when Rukmin claimed victory. *Viṣṇupurāṇa* V.28.

That losing everything in dice and the deceitful employment of it by certain kings to annex kingdoms easily had a long tradition is known from the famous story of Nala, narrated in the next book (Vanaparvan) to Yudhiṣṭhira to console him with the greater sufferings undergone by Nala who was deprived of his kingdom by Puṣkara in a similar game of dice.

Remembering all this, Someśvara of Kalyāṇ, in his description of gambling in his *Mānasollāsa,* observes that with the examples of Yudhiṣṭhira, Nala and Balarāma before him, the King should learn to play the game well and play for diversion and with one's dependents and those near and dear, and with stakes made in fun and sport; and not become an addict to it.

ज्ञानार्थं खेल्यते दासैः तज्ज्ञैस्सह महीभुजा ।
अत्यासक्तिर्न कर्तव्या तदा नाशो भवेद्यतः ॥
आहूतो न निवर्तेत द्यूतादपि रणादपि ।
स्मरन्निति क्षमापालो जानीयादक्षखेलनम् ॥
अज्ञानाद्धर्मतनयः सर्वस्वं हारितः फलैः(खलैः) ।
व्यसनेन नलो राजा पुष्करेण जितः पुरा ॥
अतिप्रसक्त्या निहतो रुक्मी च हलधारिणा ।
अज्ञानाद् व्यसनाद् वापि को नाम न विनश्यति ॥
तस्माद् ज्ञेयं प्रयत्नेव पाशानां खेलनं नृपैः ।
आसक्तिर्नैव कर्तव्या व्यसनोदयकारिणी ॥
प्रेयसीभिः समं क्रीडेत् यद्वान्यैस्तु सुखोचितैः ।
पणास्त एव कर्तव्याः हसितं सविलासकम् ॥

Pt. III, pp. 242–3, GOS. 138.

Close upon the *Mahābhārata,* the *Harivaṁśa,* deemed to be its supplement, may be seen for the material

it has on our subject. Reference was made to the *Dhanuryajña* of King Janaka and Rāma lifting the heavy bow and bending it and gaining Sītā's hand; also to the feat of archery of hitting the *Matsya-yantra* by Arjuna and the gaining of Draupadī as wife. The third well-known *Dhanur-maha*, this one not as part of the *Svayamvara* of a princess, is the one held by Kṛṣṇa's uncle, the tyrant Kaṁsa, who employed it as a ruse to bring Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa from Gokula to Mathurā and have them killed at the wrestling bouts with his own court-wrestlers. This is described in thc *Viṣṇu-purāṇa, Harivamśa* and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. We shall take the account in the *Harivaṁśa* II, *Viṣṇuparvan* chs. 27ff.

Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa having come to Mathurā, go first, without Kaṁsa's knowledge, to the latter's armoury to see the bow. The bow was a heavy thing, almost of a pillar's size but Kṛṣṇa lifted it and bent it and it broke. Kaṁsa who heard of this was frightened. The theatie or arena and the whole area (*Prekṣāgṛha, Raṅga, Samājavāṭa*) for the wrestling contests was ready with galleries *(mañcas)*, seats, and outside, pavilions, streets, food, drinks etc. On the next day, when Kṛṣṇa entered the tournment-grounds, he had to encounter at the gate an intoxicated elephant Kuvalayāpīḍa which Kaṁsa had kept there to kill the brothers. Kṛṣṇa accounts for the elephant and enters the arena. Kaṁsa had instructed his famous wrestlers, Cāṇūra, Muṣṭika, Āndhra, Tosala etc. to kill the brothers at the earliest opportunity during the duel. It may be noted that *Prāśnikas* or umpires to decide the outcome or give rulings on foul play, are repeatedly mentioned. Unfor-

tunately, in dice, there were no *Prāśnikas* and even the elders of the house or among the onlookers, even those of the stature of Bhīṣma, could only offer advice or keep silent but not control the mischief.

The *Harivaṁśa* (Ch. 30) sets forth more details and the rules of wrestling. *Karīṣa* (charcoal powder) and water and drinks *(kaṣāyas)* for use in the course of the game to remove perspiration and for probably refreshing and other purposes, was heaped at a corner. No weapon was to be kept by the fighters. When one fell on the ground in the combat, the other should do nothing to harm him. Six qualities of the fighters are also mentioned : control or withdrawal, firmness, power, exertion, respect for the opponent and the canons of the duel like not hitting at vital spots, and lastly strength. Killing the opponent is no part of the game of wrestling and those who use wrestling to do away with opponents are corruptors of the art of wrestling. During the actual fight, names of several movements, acts and poses are given, – various positions of the arms including one with '*Kaṅkaṭa*,' the reading of Nīlakaṇṭha, meaning an embrace as a prelude to throwing one down, *Sannipāta*, *Avadhūta*, *Pramātha*, *Unmātha*, *Kṣepaṇa*, *Muṣṭi*, *Varāhoddhūnana*, *Kīla*, *Vajranipāta*, *Jānu* (karman), and *Śirovaghaṭṭita*, some of which are clear and some obscure. Eventually Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma defeat and destroy not only the *Mallas* but also Kaṁsa.

In the Book II, the Viṣṇuparvan, Ch. 88, there is the description of a picnic party at the sea-side *(Samudra-yātrā)*, when Kṛṣṇa was staying Dvārakā. Leaving Ugrasena and Vasudeva in the city, the rest joined the

party. Boys, elders, men and women and courtezans, all started in their best dress. Men and women drank and enjoyed themselves. They entered water, at different depths up to their chests, and threw water on each other. There were boats of all shapes - of birds, serpents, gargoyle, fish etc. - which they got upon; others swam with or without pots; they sang and played on instruments and danced. They had also boat-houses - where they rested for the night - in various forms, rectangular, square, circular, *svastika,* mountain-like, of the form of animals and fanciful animals, birds - Garuḍa, *Krauñca*, parrot, etc.

In the next chapter (89th), we are given a special music and dance-programme which they had, viz. the *Chālikya-krīḍā*. There were instrumental and vocal music and dance. With dresses of different parts of the country, the men and women performed the *Rāsa*-dance, keeping rhythm by beat of palms. They raised on the waters, with their palms, the sounds of the drum[1] (*jala-dardura, Jalavādya*) and sang to its accompaniment. At the end of the water-sports, they adjourned to the *Pāna-bhūmi*, the place on the shore where food of every kind and drinks were enjoyed by them. Nārada provided, on his Vīnā, *Chālikya* music comprising the the six *grāma-rāgas* and with his flute, Kṛṣṇa himself provided the *Hallīsaka*-music. *Mṛdaṅga* was played by others and at the end of the *Āsārita*-song,[2] Rambhā

1. This is one of the 64 arts mentioned by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāma Sūtras*.

2. Āsārita is the name of an ancient type of song figuring often in Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*.

and Apsarasas danced. Although some more references to the music are given, the characteristics of this *Chālikya-Gāndharva* are not clear beyond the few facts that this was done on the waterside and included vocal and instrumental music and the circular dances of men and woman known as *Rāsa* and *Hallīsa*. There may be some connection between this *Chālikya* and the *Chalika*-dance of Mālavikā in Kālidāsa's play, although the background is completely different in the two cases.

The acount of the expedition against the *Asura*-king Vajranābha and his killing by the Yādavas Pradyumna and Sāmba then follows : An *Aśvamedha* was performed by Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā and during this sacrifice, an actor named Bhadra entertained the people with his dramatic performance. With this Bhadra as their accomplice, Pradyumna as hero, Sāmba as clown, and other Yādavas as actors, they infiltrate into Vajranābha's city in disguise as a drama-troupe and perform plays based on the themes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the love of Rambhā and Nalakūbara and the curse on Rāvaṇa. Here again musical details are given, mentioning the melodies of the *Gāndhāra-grāma* and the *Chālikya* and *Āsārita* songs. The *Yādava*-party then capture and kill Vajranābha (Chs. 91–97)

IV

From Sanskrit Buddhological texts like the *Lalita-vistara* and the *Mahāvastu*, we noted above the sports and pastimes forming part of the training of young princes and common to the Epics. The Pāli *Jātakas*

refer to the festival as *Nakkutta* (i. e. Nakṣatra), as many of them fall on days of particular constellations. The *Jātakas* mention popular gatherings *Samajjās* (Sanskrit-Samajyās) in which there were large gatherings of people, men and women, music, dance and dramatic shows, amorous affairs, feats of strength, fighting with elephants etc., men fighting with sticks, bull-fights, bird fights, jugglery, recital of narratives (*Ākhyānas*) etc. The places where the *Samajjās* took place are described in the same manner as the *Raṅgas* in the Epics with galleries (*Mañcas*) for the spectators. The *Jātaka*-picture of the Samajyā is much the same as that of the Vedic *Samana.* The 150th and 530th *Jātakas* speak of the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* which, in Kārttika, the King proclaimed for seven days. The 163rd, 455th and the 531st mention a festival of the decorated palace-elephants and a *Surā-nakkhutta*, drink-festival, also is referred to. 454th *Ghaṭa Jātaka* gives the wrestling games with the story of Kaṁsa and his court-wrestlers Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika. *Jātakas* 459 (*Pānīya-J.*) and 512 (*Kumbha-J.*) describe the drinking festival and how people take strong drink, quarrel and inflict injuries on each other. The *Kāma Jātaka* (467th) describes the King inaugurating the ploughing festival, himself holding the plough. The *Sarabhanga Jātaka* mentions several marvels of archery not seen in the Epics, making poles, ropes, flights of steps, wall and other designs and formations with arrows shot one upon another. The *Baddasāla Jātaka* (465th) describes similarly feats of archery, not seen in the Sanskrit Epics. If Vālmīki des-

cribes Rāma as shooting an arrow through seven Sāla trees, the *Jātaka* speaks of shooting through five hundred chariots standing in a row and the arrow reaching the ground after this feat!

Sāla-bhañjikā which is well-known in Indian sculpture, represents a lady bending the branch of a Sāla tree in bloom and plucking its blossoms. There is a description of this pastime in the 53rd story in the *Avadānaśataka,* as celebrated by the large congregation of people in Jeta-vana in Śrāvasti and an elaborate description of it in the *Nidānakathā* witnessed in the Lumbinī grove in Kapilavastu, which the Queen visited. In the 70th story here, there is the description of the wrestling tournament conducted by the King and the carrying away of the trophy (*Mallapatākā*) by the winner. The 13th story of Unmādavatī in the *Jātakamālā,* 32nd, as also that of Ayogṛha, features the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, in all its revelries witnessed by the King who drives through the city in the moonlit night. In the Pāli *Suttas* like the *Cullavagga* (I.13–2) and their commentaries, we come across pastimes among things forbidden for the monks. Some of these have already been dealt with when dealing with the non-Buddhist literature; a few are obscure. *Aṣṭāpada* is *Caturaṅga,* Chess, another variety of it being called *Daśapada*; *Akṣa* and *Khalika* are dice. These are different kinds of gambling. *Śalākahattha* is given a curious explanation by Buddhaghoṣa, taking it as *Śalākā-hasta,* but I think it is the same as gambling with *Śalākās,* instead of *Akṣas,* mentioned by Pāṇini. *Akkharika* and *Mānasika* are taken by Buddhaghoṣa as guessing the letters traced in air

and the thoughts of others but it is not clear how these two, if their explanations are correct, be out of the scope of a monk's intellectual training. Out-door sports referred to in Buddhist Sūtras are the same as those seen in the Epics: racing with horses, elephants and chariots, archery, sword-play, fencing with sticks, and wrestling. The *Caṇḍālas* are referred to as playing with iron-balls and doing acrobatics on poles. *Parihārapatha,* as explained by Buddhaghoṣa, is a kind of hopping over a diagram drawn on the ground. It has been compared to the Bengali 'Ekka-Dokka' played by boys and girls using a potsherd; it is called in Tamil *Pāṇḍi. Sanitaka* is a development from the previous in which boys hop and collect with the toe potsherd and other stone-pieces. *Ghaṭika*, as explained by Buddhaghoṣa, is the *Vīṭā* of the *Mahābhārata* already noticed. *Akkha* is marble, *guḷi* (*goḷi* in Tamil), which is still played by boys with the fingers. *Mokkhacika* is an acrobatic feat done with a stick or according to another explanation, executing somersault. Some games of boys are also mentioned in the *Suttas* like playing on small pipes or whistles made of leaves and other toys like carts such as the one that gives the title to the play *Mṛcchakaṭika*, and toy bows and arrows.

The Jain canonical and commentarial literature refers to many games, pastimes and festivals. Articles for the play of children like marbles, dolls and balls are mentioned. *Aḍoliyā* is the name of the game of *tip-cat*, the *Vīṭā* of the *Mahābhārata* in which a small piece is struck by a stick and the former bounds.

Of the recreations of adults we have the visit to gardens, hills, riverside etc. in the company of women. *Giri yajña* was worship of hills and mountains in rainy season. Festivals common with the Hindus which are mentioned are *Kaumudī-mahotsava*, *Madana-trayodaśī*, *Dīpotsava*, *Indradhvaja* etc., but there are some differences and Jain orientations in these.

Mleceha-maha and *Dāsī-maha* are festivals of tribal people and of the maid-servants.

Saṃkhadi (Pāli Saṅkhati), also called *Bhojya*,[1] was a large gathering involving animal-sacrifice and feast. There was an academic and literary side to this in which the followers of different schools of thought who assembled had discussions, and a popular side in which drunken revelries and song and gesticulation by men and women went on.

Tournaments *(Yuddha-mahas)* are referred to and these included wrestling by famous *mallas*, and fights of cocks and peacocks, and animals – bulls, horses and elephants, –with stakes.[2]

To the festivals noted above from Jain *Sūtras* and their commentaries, we may add some noticed in the

1. *Bhojya* is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*; see above.

2. See *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons*, J. C. Jain, Bombay, 1947, pp. 238–241. Hemacandra's *Dvyāśrayakāvya* has some data on festivals but there is little additional information there. See Hemacandra's *Dvyāśrayakāvya – A Literary and Cultural Study* by Satyapal Narang, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1972.

lexicon *Deśīnāmamālā*[1] of the Jain polymath Hema-candra.

The *Jakkharatti* (III.43) is *Yakṣarātri* and refers to the *Dīpāvali.* The *Navalaya* (IV.21) is *Navalatā* of which I shall give a correct description in the latter part of these lectures. The *Poalao* (पोअलओ) (VI.81) is a festival in which the husband eats a cake from the hands of his wife; this occurs in the Āśvina month and probably takes its name after the cake which too is called *Pöalaya.* According to others, however, *Poalaya* means the Spring that has just set in, *Bāla-vasanta.* The *Phaggū* is the *Phālguna* or *Vasantotsava* (II.82). The *Voralli* in the bright fortnight of *Śrāvaṇa* mentioned in VII.81 is not clear. The *Sugimhaä* is *Sugrīṣmaka* and on the analogy of *Suvasantaka,* it should be a festival welcoming the Summer season; but then the month *Phālguṇa,* which is mentioned, is not possible. A few more mentioned by Hemacandra, which are more of the nature of religious *Vratas,* are not taken up by us here.

V

Pāṇini occupies an important place in our present study. On dice coming down from the *Ṛgveda* he gives additional information; he mentions the regional character of some pastimes; and regarding some pastimes figuring in later literature, his mention of them shows how these were coming down from very old times.

1. See also Mrs. Kamalabai Deshpande, *Some Religious Observances* (Vratas) *and Festivals* (Utsavas) *mentioned in Deśīnāmamālā,* AIOC. XVII, 1955, Annamalai University, Proceed. and Trans., (1958), pp. 483 ff.

The most ancient game of dice *(Akṣa, Dyūta)* is mentioned by Pāṇini (I.4.4; III.3.37; IV. 4.19). A player of dice is called *Ākṣika* (IV.4.2) and deceitful players (like Śakuni) are called *Akṣa-kitava* and *Akṣa-dhūrta.* Dice, says Pāṇini, were played with *Akṣas* as well as *Śalākās,* the latter being longer rectangular pieces (II.1.10). The practice with *Śalākās* was also wide-spread as attested by Kauṭalya. From Pāṇini II.1.10 and its commentaries, it is known that four and five pieces were used in the throw *(Catuṣpari, Pañcikā-dyūta).* The same Sūtra 'Akṣa-śalākā-saṃkhyāyāḥ pariṇā' gives us some idea of the throws, governing as it does the expressions *Ekapari, Dvipari, Tripari, Catuṣpari.* In III.1.21, the expressions *Kṛtayati* and *Kalayati* for the winning and losing throws are explained. *Glaha,* the stake (III.3.70) and the amount of a hundred coins (II.3.57; III.3.58) as stake (Śatasya dīvyati) are referred to.

Ākarṣa was another form of gambling in which a checkered board was used and pieces thereon, called *Śāra,* were moved (V.2.64). III.3.37 mentions the movement of *Śāras* as *Pariṇāya,* this word having thereby attained the meaning of 'gambling'. Another specific movement is *Ayānaya* and *Ayānayīna* in V.2.9, explained by Patañjali as referring to the moves from right and left, *aya* and *anaya.* This is the form called *Caupar* in which it has come down from the ancient times.

Pāṇini refers to the pleasant pastimes also in which the Easterners indulged in ('Prācām krīḍāyām, VI.2.74; see also 'Nityam krīḍājīvikayoḥ' II.2.17; 'Samjñāyām,' III.3.109). This Krīḍā, of which we have the first glimpse

in Pāṇini and which has come down in history, spread from the Easterners to the other parts of the country and has been represented in sculpture; it is the visit to gardens and woods of people in large numbers at flowering seasons and enjoying walks and plucking the different flowers. The names of the pastime, qualified by the name of the flower plucked, or the twig pulled and bent, is self-explanatory: *Uddālaka-puṣpabhañjikā*, *Vīraṇa-puṣpa-pracāyikā*, *Sālabhañjikā* and *Tālabhañjikā*. The *Jīvaputra*[1]*-pracāyika* is a similar sport of the Northerners *(udīcām)* mentioned in the *Kāśikā*. We shall see more of these garden and flower sports.

There were also games or sports in which sticks and one's fists were used in a mock-fight and were thereby called Dāṇḍā and Mauṣṭā. Pāṇini IV.2.57, 'Tadasyām praharaṇam iti krīḍāyām ṇaḥ'. The *Kāśikā* gives the illustrations 'Dāṇḍā' and 'Mauṣṭā'.

Hunting is seen with several of its details in the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini. *Lubdhaka*, *Mārgika*, *Śākunika*, catchers of animals and birds (IV.4.35; V.4.126), and catchers of specific birds *(māyūrika, taittirika)* are seen in the illustrations of the commentators. The arrows used with *patra* (barb) or without them, times of hunting including nights, and dogs used in hunting (*śvagaṇa*, IV.4.11) are also to be seen in some other *Sūtras*.

VI

The art of love as dealt with by Vātsyāyana is closely related to our subject. The festivals are dealt with at the beginning of the *Kāma Sūtras* as these provide

1. *Jīvaputra* is a tree, the *Ingudī* according to some lexicons.

the occasions when men and women come together and enjoy, and love finds excellent opportunities for its growth and play. These festivals are again referred to by Vātsyāyana in the further treatment of his subject. Games and pastimes figure in Vātsyāyana also in the list of the sixty-four arts which form the accomplishments of the cultured person, *Nāgaraka* The commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* elucidates the meaning of these festivals and provides additional information. Works of poetics and dramaturgy which deal with love, especially the more elaborate or comprehensive ones like those of Bhoja, the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and the encyclopaedic *Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa*, devote attention to these festivals; they are to be seen also in works of this branch which derive material from Bhoja, like the anonymous *Sāhityamīmāṃsā* and Śāradātanaya's *Bhāvaprakāśa* and later texts on Kāma Śāstra like Vīrabhadra's *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi.* Sanskrit classical literature, the poems and plays and narrative writings, naturally, have several occasions to introduce the festivals as part of their themes. Commentaries on Pāṇini like the *Kāśikā* make their contribution to our knowledge on the festivals. The role of the King as the promulgator of festivals and as their primary performer was referred to earlier. Later texts which deal with the King and his duties, *Rājadharma,* have occasions to speak of these festivals, games and pastimes. Already the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya speaks of them and of the large gatherings of people during festivals as the occasion for organising espionage activities. More than this, it was the duty of the King to foster festivities for the happiness and prosperity of the people and also to look after

some of them like gambling for the proper management of such activities which grow into vices. The ancient conception of King or Minister, as against the modern conception of a political leader, demogogue or resourceful and successful electioneer, was that the heads of State should be embodiments and exemplars of learning and culture. The training of the ruler in different branches of learning, including polity and military science, extended to different arts and accomplishments. Putting together the materials in the Śāstras devoted to *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*, as also *Mokṣa* in some cases, there arose later works of the nature of Thesaurus or Encyclopaedia in which all activity directly or indirectly centred in or connected with the King was described. These encyclopaedias are also among the sources for our subject and the earliest of these so far available and the best is the *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* of King Bhūlokamalla Someś-vara of Kalyan, compiled in A. D. 1131.

Nibandhas or digests of *Dharma Śāstra* arose at the end of the classical period and these also took the character of encyclopaedias. As the compilers of these were the *Dharmādhikārins* under the Kings and as the King was the custodian and guardian of the *Dharma*, the *Nibandhas* deal with *Rājadharma* and as part of the same, with a part of our present subject. The greater contribution of the *Nibandha* literature to our subject lies on the religious side, where deriving their material from the *Purāṇas* particularly, they describe a large number of religious observances called *Vratas*. *Vratas* and *Pūjās*

are inseparably mixed with festivals and pastimes, e. g. *Indradhvaja*, *Dīpāvalī*, *Navarātri* or Dasarah, to mention only three festivals of national character. Sometimes, on such important festivals, we have special tracts also. The *Purāṇas* themselves form a major source for our knowledge of this subject; and in the *Bhaviṣyottara*, a separate book is devoted to the *Vratas* and *Pūjās*.

We may first note some general points relating to these. The festivals fall into two classes by reason of their provenance, some being national and some local, a division which Vātsyāyana himself mentions. The national celebrations are called *Māhimānyaḥ Krīḍāḥ* and the provincial and local ones, *Deśyāḥ Krīḍāḥ*. Those in which large groups of men and women take part are referred to by Vātsyāyana as *Sambhūya Krīḍāḥ*. While in some, men and women repaired to gardens, woods, watersides, hills and other nature-resorts, while in some others the venue was the temple or the houses of each, there were some for which special public places existed where people could congregate for such festivities; such places were called *Samajyās*. During the long history, the festivals have gathered fresh associations; local festivals have assumed national proportions or national ones have taken on local variations or significances; in the actual performance as well as mythological background these two aspects come together so that in a single major all-India festival like the Dasarah or *Dīpāvalī* we find more than one legend or association. Thus accretion and coalescence of traditions are prominent features of the major ones. The same *Dīpāvalī* is celebrated by Hindus and Jainas as well, but with different background.

Sometimes, owing to historical causes, some festivals of larger provenance go into background or decay in some parts of the country and survive only in some or in single regions. In some cases, the local conditions add some particulars to all-India observances. Festivals of both these kinds of local setting can be seen from a work like the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* which describes the *ācāras* or the observances of Kashmir during the different months of the year (vv. 387 ff.).

Sometimes a variation in legend or in the method of celebration has been adopted by reason of the religious sect to which a community belongs. Thus the Jainas have a different detail in the story of the festival of Indra's banner, and among the orthodox communities themselves, Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas and Śāktas have their own differences in details. It is not uncommon that in particular parts of the country, owing to the great fervour with which certain devotional movements have been fostered, a bit of the worship of their favourite deity is also put into the festivities; the best example is the special worship of Kālī in Bengal as part of the *Dīpāvalī* celebrations.[1] The Devī-cult and its texts like the *Devī-bhāgavata*, and the *Kālikāpurāṇa* incorporate the Rāma-cult as a part of Devī's greatness and identify Rāma's battle and victory with the Dasarah season. The *Nīlamatapurāṇa* of Kashmir associates the commemoration of Nikumbha and his subjugation of the Piśācas with the celebration of the Moon-light festival in Āśvayuk month and has two separate festi-

1. See *Śākta Festivals of Bengal and their Antiquity* by Chintaharan Chakravartti, *IHQ*. XXVII., pp. 255–60.

vals to the Piśācas and Nikumbha in the *Caitra*, on the 14th of the dark fortnight and the full-moon of Caitra. The first fall of snow (*NM.* 477ff) or the first lighting of the fire to remain all through winter (vd.408) are again specialities of Kashmir. Another similar feature is the telescoping of a series of two or three observances of a continuous nature, on days closely following or near to each other, into a single day's celebration; the more prominent one attracts and assimilates to itself those of lesser importance in the neighbouring dates of the Calendar. This too could be illustrated by the *Dīpāvalī*.

The evidence of the *Atharvapariśiṣṭa*, Pāṇini, the Buddhistic *Jātakas* and *Avadāna* literature, and the Epics speaks sufficiently of the antiquity of many of these festivities and amusements. Their correlation with festivals of peoples of antiquity in other parts of the world add to our better understanding of the history and evolution of some of them. Their elucidation from diverse literary sources in Sanskrit, and occasionally from regional literatures, by the process of collation of data is not complete without a correlation to their survivals or vestiges today. As I said already, the impact of the new western civilization, the neglect of villages, the scorn into which the indigenous traditions were thrown by the new glamour for foreign modes of life and foreign sports, games, entertainments and festivities, have all led to considerable deterioration in the festivals of India; but the wonder is we have yet not lost some of the major ones and of many of the rest, vestiges can be gathered by research in different loca-

lities. Some of these are kept alive in the temples, though in the form in which they are conducted there in honour of the deities, we may not be able to recognise all the features. Many festivals, even in their origin, were religious and of the form of adoration of some gods and goddesses. The God and the King were kin concepts and the divine ruler and his human counter-part were given the same respect and attentions. Many of the festivals and pastimes of the court and the people have their counterpart in the Temples. The *Āgamas* which govern the temples, their structure, consecration, and daily and periodical rites and celebrations, therefore, constitute a further source of data on our festivals. A few of the festivals, games and pastimes have left their beautiful impress on the arts of Indian sculpture and painting.

At the very outset, we saw the roots of the festivals in the Seasons of the year. In the *Purāṇas* and the *Dharma Śāstra*-digests we find these celebrations dealt with in a chronological, seasonal order beginning with the new year day. Someśvara follows this method of seasonal treatment; Śāradātanaya too groups them by the seasons and gives them in six sets. But, as we shall see, the texts are not uniform in the dates given to some of these, though in a great many of them, a specific or general indication of the time is found in the very names of the festivals. Some are done in more than one season and for some there is a primary date and alternate secondary date, a *mukhya-kāla* and *gauṇa-kāla*. As some method has to be followed in dealing with this mass of material, we may adopt the same method

and try to be as close as possible to Nature and the Calendar. Adopting this method, we had a separate work called the *Ṛtukrīḍāviveka,* as I have stated elsewhere. Such a seasonwise treatment facilitates the appreciation of the central features of most of these festivals.

VII

Someśvara's *Mānasollāsa* describes not only the seasonal pastimes and festivals in its last part but is also the only work to give in one place a connected account of the sports of the King. This account which is given in chapter three, describes twenty games or diversions contributing to the joy of the King – *Vinodāḥ harṣa-hetavaḥ.*

The first is the *Śastra-vinoda,* play with dagger, sword, bow, stick, discus, spear, mace etc. All these are to be witnessed by the harem and courtiers. The King should be appropriately dressed upto the knees only, girding up the loins and fastened with coloured cloth-belts. The area where he displays his skill with these weapons is called the *Khuralī.* He should engage some experts with these weapons as the opponents. Someśvara sets forth the different poses and movements involved: *Bhairava, Pallīvāla, Śunaka* (Dog), *Nūka, Vinūka, Lulita, Nahaya, Naṭṭeka, Ropitaka, Pottāṅgula, Vyāghranakha* (Tiger's claws), *Ardhakapolaka,* – these the *sthānas.* Then the *gatis*: *Padagrāha* involving going forward and backwards, *Padaprāpti, Sarpikā* (serpentine), *Mattebha* (intoxicated elephant), *Vāyasī, Bākoṭī* (both birds), *Simha* (lion) and a variety of light-

ning-movements involving *Āvarta*, *Parivartta* (turning back), and *Savyāpasavyaka* (right and left movements). The poses and movements are then given for play with a longer dagger, which is done in two forms, *Dhārāghāta* and *Khoñcana*. Then follows *Sword-play*, *Khaḍgavinoda*. As in the case of the dagger, in the case of the sword too, detailed descriptions of the qualities of swords and their different kinds are first given.[1] Sword-play is to be done with shields. Several *sthānas*, *gatis* and strikings are then given. *Bowmanship* is to be displayed then; the qualities of bows, other equipments like finger-bands with lizard-skin, and poses of the body are set forth. Well-known stances of archery, *Sauṣṭhava*, *Ālīḍha*, *Pratyālīḍha*, *Vaiśākha* and *Samapada*, as also several less known ones and different kinds of *Muṣṭis*, Grips etc., are described.

The four styles usually spoken in Sword-play—*Kaiśika*, *Sāttvata*, *Vātsagulma*[2] and *Bhārata* are given by Someśvara for shooting with bow. The preparation

1. For a short treatise on Swords, their manufacture, merits and defects, see the end of the anthology *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, section called *Khaḍgaparīkṣā*; the text here quotes as sources *Nāgārjuna*, *Loharatnākara*, *Lohārṇava*, *Khaḍgakośa* and *Viṣṇudharmottara*. The last mentioned Purāṇa has a short chapter on Swords; see khaṇḍa II, ch. 17. Before Someśvara, Bhoja dealt with Swords and their making in the *Yuktikalpataru*.

2. *Vārṣagaṇya* or *Vatsakarṇa* in the text here (IV.26) should read *Vātsagulma*, although the difficulty is not removed, *Vātsagulma*, being a duplication of *Kaiśika* already mentioned. See above under the Epics and my paper on Vṛttis referred to there.

of the shield from hides and targets of different kinds and their hitting are then dealt with. Moving targets – five kinds of them, moving sideways, running, walking, circling and going up and down, and on sky, ground and water, shooting along the sound-track, *Śabdavedha,* mentioned often already, targets at distances, are then set forth; the mobile targets and feats of hitting them are described in detail. Some of these are wonderful and may be noticed. *Matsya-yantra,* the first, is what we have in the *Mahābhārata.*[1] *Kharjurīvedhana* is to fill a post in the front with formations of leaves and thorns, with the arrows shot at it. *Patraccheda* is to shoot off only the leaf that has been placed on the chest of a person in front, without harming him. *Yamalārjuna* is hitting two targets with one arrow. Shooting an arrow ahead and one behind and hitting then two targets in front and the back is *Mālā-vidyādhara.* Displays with *Discus (Cakra), Spear* (along with the making of the spear and its qualities) and the movements involved in using it, *Mace (Gadā)* made of metal or wood and the movements relating to it, conclude the play with different weapons.

We may pass over the second *Vinoda,* the one dealing with *Śāstras,* as it deals with literary and philosophical pursuits, the reading, commenting upon and enjoying poetry and drama and attending and participating in logical debates.

Games with *elephants* – which are to be used especially in wars with Muhammedans – in the grounds – the *Vāhyālī* – are then taken up. Intoxicating and inciting

1. This is called *Rādhāvedha,* IV.59.

the elephants to action was necessary. A regular brief treatise on elephants in all their different classes now follows.[1] For elephants' sports, the *Vāhyālī* has to be of a special nature, with moats and with the spectators' pavilion far away and well protected. Prizes were offered to those who wrestled with elephants and succeeded in controlling them. The Mahout and elephants' trainer and the jargon and activities he adopts and goads and modes of using them are also dealt with. Elephants were till modern times the most decisive section of the Indian army and a branch of literature known as *Gaja-śāstra* and *Hastyāyurveda* on elephants and their treatment by sage Pālakāpya, Budha (Rājaputra) and other writers is available.

Then *Vāji-vāhyālī* or the sports with horses. The horses by themselves and as yoked to chariots are among the oldest adjuncts of Indian life as the *Vedas* show, and Indian horsemen, as fighters, were evidenty in demand among other IE peoples also for, in a series of clay-tablets unearthed in Anatolia, we have a treatise on horses in a language which has been taken by many linguists as Sanskrit. On horses, Nakula of the Pāṇḍavas is considered an expert and in his name, as well as in the name of sage Śālihotra, there are scientific treatises on horses. Someśvara provides a short treatise on horses, as on the elephants. The part of the country, and countries on the borders and outside India wherefrom horses come, – as names of some

1. There is an illustrated ms. of this portion of Someśvara's work in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore.

varieties of horses like *Bāhlika*, *Śaibya*, *Kāmbhoja*, *Tokhārika*, *Vanāyuja*[1] or *Pārasīka* show, – qualities of these horses, training and control of them, the equipment for using them including ornamental items, are dealt with.

After this Someśvara describes the game of *Polo* in which the King sets up two parties and plays with a ball which is hit with sticks of cane made into a circle at the tip and called *Geḍḍikā*. The ground where it is played and victory and defeat are noted, is marked by two posts and arches, the goal. What Someśvara describes is a variety of the game as played in Western Deccan. A Tokharian horse is said to be best suited for use by the King.

The game as described by Someśvara differs in details from the Persian variety of it and Someśvara attests the vogue of the game in the Deccan before the time of Moghul invasions of North India. On these grounds, it has been argued that the Polo described by Someśvara is an indigenous variety prevalent in the Deccan.[2]

Aṅka-vinoda is interesting as it is the settling of the scores and decision taken through fight between two persons, one of whom challenges the other on various grounds and it is these grounds that are called

1. See *Raghuvaṁśa*, V.73. The most common name *Sindhava* (from *Sindhu*) refers to the same provenance. See also *Harihara-caturaṅga*, Ch. III, Aśvalakṣaṇa, vv. 77–82, on horses-varieties from the N. W. of India.

2. See G. K. Shrigondekar, Polo under the Cālukyas, A. I. O. C., Allahabad, Vol. II, pp.373-82.

Aṅkas, – jealousy and competition in love, land-dispute, self-glorification of different kinds including one's strength and fighting skill, vendetta and expiation for wrongs committed. The King should sit at these duels in the evenings.

Malla-vinoda is display of wrestling. We had seen Mallayuddha in the Epics and Purāṇas. We have already drawn attention to the story of Mallas in the Buddhist *Avadānaśataka*. In the inscriptions they are known from the 10th–11th centuries. Mallas were an important adjunct of the courts. There is an interesting Purāṇa on the Mallas.[1] Someśvara provides a short treatise on them and the art of wrestling.[2] As we shall see, wrestling shows are part of some of the festivals.

Kukkuṭa-vinoda is enjoying cock-fights. Qualities of cocks, their physical features and style of fighting which go to classify them into different *Jātis*, tending and training them, the ground where these fights are arranged, its measurement, marking it with lines, squares, circles etc. (*koṣṭhas*) called after different deities, selection of the combatant-cocks, the fights and the points for deciding victory, attaching small knives to the feet of the fighting cocks with which one injures the other and thereby scores points, these are all described. The victorious party mount on the back of the defeated ones, fun is made at the expense of the

1. See *Mallapurāṇa* GOS. 144. B. J. Sandesara and R. N. Mehta, the editors, have an informative Introduction here. See also my review of this text in the *Hindu*, Madras, 2–10–1965.

2. *Malla-yuddha* in VIII.3 of *Śivatattvaratnākara* derives from *Mānasollāsa*.

defeated party and they are also made to sing the praise of the victors and the cock which has won is taken in triumphant procession.

Similar to the cock-fight is the fight with *Lāvaka* birds, quails. All details given for cock-fights are given here too, but quail-fights are only for a short duration, of a maximum of nine *Nāḍīs*, with frequent rests for the birds, and a chronometer is therefore kept nearby.[1]

The *Pārāva-vinoda* employs *doves* in similar fights. *Ram* (*Meṣa-yuddha*) receives the same kind of treatment, – kinds and qualities of ram, bringing them up, inciting them with liquor etc. for the fight and the fight and the points for victory.

The *Meṣa-kukkuṭa-lāvaka-yuddha* is part of gambling with live stakes, included in the 64 Arts. They were kept up in the *Veśavāṭa* especially, as the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Bhāṇa*-literature show.

The *Daśakumāracarita* has a description of *Kukkuṭa-yuddha* in Ch. 5 which, although not long, gives interesting insights into the intricacies of this pastime such as the *Jātis* or classes like *Nārikela-Jāti* and *Balāka-Jāti* of cocks and the principles of matching the combatant cocks according to their *Jātis*. The value of Daṇḍin's information may be appreciated when we note that Someśvara does not know the two *Jātis* given by Daṇḍin; Someśvara's *Jātis* are *Śaṅkha, Guru, Amśu, Nara, Gṛdhra, Śroṇi, Sarpa*, and *Kūrma*.

1. Following Someśvara Basava deals with Kukkuṭa and Lāvaka Vinodas in VIII.4. 653–658 ff. of his *Śivatattva-ratnākara*.

Somewhat on the model of the *Mānasollāsa* but on a smaller plan, a work called *Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā*[1] on the year-round engagements and activities of a King was produced, most probably in the 18th century in the Mahrata court of Tanjore.[2] Among the pastimes described by Someśvara, some figure in this text also: e. g. Ch. 81 here deals with *Jyotsnāvihāra*, sport in moonlight; 83, with wrestling tournament, *Mallayuddha*. But the account here adds no new or interesting details.

The Cock-fight was a game prevalent in many countries from ancient times. Its wide vogue in ancient India is attested also by coinage, sculpture and painting. It has survived to this day in many parts of India.[3] In Andhra, it took a violent form and the *Palanāṭi-vīracarita* of Śrīnātha on the fratricidal war of two ruling families arising out a cock-fight gambling is a 15th Century mini-replica of the *Mahābhārata*. The cock-fight is kept up in Indonesia to this day.[4]

Buffaloes are the next to be seen in their fights (*Mahiṣa-vinoda*). Dogs follow (*Sārameya-vinoda*); varieties of dogs and bringing them up are dealt with;

1. Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Series 58, 1952.
2. Prof. P. K. Gode thought that it might have been produced during the Vijayanagar times. *Karnatak Historical Review* V. i. But see my review of the printed text of this work in the *Hindu*, Madras, June, 1955.
3. For Cock-fighting in Tuluva, see Saletore. *Q. J. Mythic Society*, XVII (1926–7), p. 316; for the same in Andhra, see I. Karthikeya Sarma, *QJMS.*, LIV i. Jan. 1964, pp. 113–120.
4. For the description of a festival featuring the cock-fight, in Bali, see pp. 267–9, 'Dance and Drama in Bali' by Beryl de Zoote and Walter Spies, Faber and Faber, London, 1953.

they are to be used in hunting and thus, this is part of the larger pastime of hunting.

Hawking *(Śyena-vinoda)* was a widely prevalent game. Someśvara describes the catching and training of falcons. On this game, there is a separate text in seven short chapters, the *Śyainika Śāstra*[1] by King Rudradeva of Kumaon, written perhaps in the 16th century. It deals first with hunting in general and then devotes the treatment to hawks, their varieties, their nourishment, training and use, and their diseases and cures. It incorporates some material from Persian.

Angling *(Matsya-vinoda)* is next dealt with. Varieties and names of fishes of the sea and river are given before the details of fishing are described.

Hunting *(Mṛgayā-vinoda)* has already been dealt with under the Epics. Someśvara's description of this recreation is very elaborate. He refers to a protected forest intended for the King's sport, not far from the Capital, constantly under the watching of hunters employed by the King. He then mentions 31 kinds of hunting based on the nature of the ground and soil, the proximate spots from which the hunting is done, structures like platform *(mañca)* or an underground chamber *(bhūmi-geha)*; the kind of transport or mount adopted, material for hunt and capture, strategy employed, the animals hunted and their habitat, motives for hunt like irritation at a neighbouring power, as part of romance and excursions etc. are the factors distin-

1. Edited with English translation by H. P. Shastri, Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

guishing these varieties of hunt. Not only the Epics, but the whole field of Sanskrit poetry, prose and drama is full of descriptions of hunt. In the temples too, hunting festivals for the Deities, by taking idols on horseback to neighbouring wooded areas, are celebrated.

After hunting, Someśvara speaks of the diversions based on the fine arts, music, vocal and instrumental, and dance. These are large subjects by themselves and cannot be gone into here in any detail. Apart from forming part of festivals, music and dance, as separate artistic pursuits, were cultivated for independent display and enjoyment and the royal courts played the most effective role in the fostering of these arts, in the history of these twin arts in India, as a perusal of their literature bears out.[1] We may pass over these arts and see the next two *Vinodas* described by Someśvara, the *Kathā-vinoda* and the *Camatkāra-vinoda.*

Kathā or fables and stories constitute one of India's contribution to the world. Listening to the reading of Epics and *Purāṇas* and story-books such as those based on *Bṛhatkathā*, the themes of poems, plays and narrative literature or stories newly invented by resourceful minds, depicting the ways of men and things in the world, these were kept up by the people, men of taste, in their literary circles (*Goṣṭhīs*) and the royal courts. The King invited poets, scholars and eloquent and effective narrators, those who can read out or recite with sweet music, singly or in group, with or without

1. See my accounts of Sanskrit Saṅgīta Literature, *Journal of the Music Academy*, Madras, Vols. III & IV; *Bulletin of the Sangeet Natak Akademi*, New Delhi, Nos. 5, 6, 17, 18.

music instruments. Someśvara mentions especially the *Karṇāṭaka Ṣaṭpadī* reciters who use the *Kinnarī* stringed instrument as an accompaniment.

Camatkāra-vinoda, comprises acquisitions and exhibitions of miracles, with the help of magic pills *(Guṭikās)*, oils, powders, ointments etc., whose preparation is given, sandals (*pādukās*), swords etc. With the help of these, certain *Siddhis* or miraculous powers could be gained - such as gods, *Vidyādharas* and *Apsarasas* have, as seen in poems (e. g. *Naiṣadhīya Carita)* and plays (e. g. *Vikramorvaśīya*) - powers like invisibility, not being burnt by fire or hurt by weapon, change of things and their nature, seeing specific things which are away but have to be seen, walking on water, or remaining under water, walking very long distances without fatigue etc.

The *seasonal festivals* are dealt with by Someśvara by first giving a description of the garden and a wooded area, with an artificially raised mountain. The garden, wood or forest, lawn or trees, creepers, flowers and fruits form the venue and background of several of the seasonal festivals. Therefore it would be proper to devote some attention to the royal garden. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Kāvyā-nāṭaka* literature, we have an idea of the extent to which the Indians, from early times, loved the garden and reared it. A branch of science *Vṛkṣāyurveda* grew and arboriculture included crossing and grafting of species and the evolving of new types of creepers and trees and flowers and fruits and the whole subject deserves special treatment.[1]

1. This must be reserved for another occasion. See my 'Ṛtu in Sanskrit Literature' (Delhi, 1972), pp. 51, 62, 63, 70, 84–5, 90.

Twenty *Krīḍās* or pastimes are described by Someśvara in the last chapter of his work, the 5th, and these begin with *Bhūdhara-krīḍā,* sport on an artificial mountain raised in the midst of a well-laid out garden or miniature forest. I think such a mountain was called 'Jagati-parvata', an expression that occurs in Vālmīki's description of the *Aśoka-vana,* Rāvaṇa's wonderful garden in Laṅkā. Someśvara devotes some detailed attention to the raising of this forest and mountain with all kinds of trees, streams and elevations, peaks etc. Such a mountain is called, from its function, a *Krīḍā-śaila*, an expression known to Kālidāsa, and from the materials of its structure, *Dāruparvataka.*

On such a *Krīḍāśaila,* the King may also put up an artificial wood with replicas of trees etc. and provide lakes etc. Here the King should repair with his women and courtiers and enjoy riding and walking through, showing the ladies the different trees, flowers and fruits, sitting at foot of trees, and enjoying drinks, songs by his women, jokes and so on.

Spring :

After this, Someśvara proceeds in the order of the seasons, taking Spring first. The first pastime of Spring is the excursion to the forest–*Vanakrīḍā.* While he must ride with all his company to the forest and through the forest, he must have also selected a suitable place full of shade and by the side of water, where a shamiana had been put up for camping with his party of women, musicians, dancers, men of wit and humour. With the

women he walked round, bending boughs, plucking for them sprouts and blossoms; and playing hide and seek, the prize of capture in this being an embrace. For removing the fatigue of all this walking and running, they go to brooks or tanks and wash, eat fruits and drink water of tender cocoanuts, chew *pan* and then enjoy sandal, flowers and garlands, and other things of decoration. The party returned late in the evening.

The third *Krīḍā* and the second in Spring described by Someśvara is Swinging, *Āndolana-krīḍā*. The game of swinging and its beautiful depiction in colour may be familiar to connoiseurs of art in the Rāga-mālā miniature depicting the Rāga *Hindola*. *Āndolana* was enjoyed in more than one season. We shall see later an *Āndolana-caturthī* as a festival in *Śrāvaṇa*. Dramas like *Mālavikāgnimitra* take it also among pastimes of Spring. It is as a Spring pastime that Someśvara too describes it. A Swing is set up between two strong pillars in a special pavilion beautified with carvings and images and provided with ropes and chains. The time for enjoying the Swing is the fullmoon night, soon after the sun-set and the rise of the moon. With ministrels and musicians and women in attendance the King should take his seat on the swing and enjoy the gyrations with his beloved ones by his side; some women give the push to the swing, some make fun of him and try to topple the swing and contribute to his joy in a variety of ways.

The next is *Secana-krīḍā* or drenching each other with coloured and fragrant water with the aid of syringes, *Śṛṅgas*. We shall see this as part of the *Holi*

festival also in which it survives. It is the subject also of several paintings. It is, as Someśvara says, part of *Vasantotsava*, and also of special festive occasions like marriages and royal victories. The time for it is late afternoon. Here too, musicians and dancers are to be in attendance. The preparation of the coloured and fragrant water is described, as also the horns of wild bulls or their silver and gold replicas and several kinds of mechanical arrangements for throwing out the water. In addition to drenching with this water, throwing flower-balls or balls made of silk-threads at each other form part of the merriment, which lasts till sun-set.

Salila-krīḍā is chiefly a Summer sport as Kālidāsa shows in his beautiful portrayal of it in his account of Kuśa, Rāma's son, in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (Canto XVI.55 ff.). Someśvara too describes it as a summer pastime. This is done in a *Krīḍā-vāpī* within or in the garden of the palace or in rivers and tanks outside. Tents are to be provided for on the banks. The waters are to be cleaned of harmful beings. Among the sports while in water are mentioned pulling the legs and garments, drenching each other with sprays of water, throwing into the water things like coins and competing to pick them up, and other ways of enjoying fun and frolic.

There are more elaborate descriptions by Bhoja in his *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*[1] of reservoirs for water-sports, leading to secret under-water chambers, to which the King cleverly leads some beloved; these are mentioned by Kālidāsa as *Gūḍha-mohana-gṛha* in his

1. Ch. XXXI, Śls. 157–166.

description of Agnimitra, who specialised in these, in the last canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa*. (XIX. 9). The *Mahā kāvyas*, starting with the *Kirātārjunīya*, have separate cantos for *Jalakeli*.

During the Rainy season, the chief pastime is *Śādvala-krīḍā*, done on a fine lawn of fresh green grass in a part of the forest. There is a similar *Nava-patrikā* which we shall notice later under *Śarad*. The king shall go on excursion to a nearby forest and put up tents and shamiana with canopies and coloured bamboo posts and there spread the things for eating and drinking that had been brought. In his party are women, musicians and dancers and others who added to the mirth.

An important activity which Someśvara describes here must be noted. The King as a wise and popular ruler uses this occasion to gather the forest-dwellers, the *Mātaṅgas* and *Caṇḍālas*, enjoys the *Vīṇā*-music for which they are reputed and distribute cash presents to them. After a whole day's enjoyment, he returns to the Capital at sun-set.

In *Śarad* when the floods subside, sand-banks which show themselves on the rivers, afford an enjoyable venue for pastime. (*Vālukā-krīḍā*) Tents were erected on the sands for the sports here which include : digging water-springs in the sands, raising on sand replicas of different buildings like temples and showing each other his or her handiwork, making balls of wet sand and throwing them against each other in imitation of a cock-fight, riding on the backs of those defeated in the above game and dragging them by the ears.

The clear sky of the *Śarad* also provides fine moonlight for engaging oneself in some other *Krīḍās*. The *Jyotsnā-krīḍā* is for *Āśvina* or *Kārttika* bright fortnight but could be had also in Spring or Summer when there is a clear sky and moonlight. A wide, even open ground is to be got ready. The king should wear a special make-up, with his cloth tied up in *Kaccha* upto his knees. He should divide his retinue into two parties, one under the Queen and another under a friend, and himself as umpire order a running race over a length of 50 bows. When one party is running, members of the other party try to touch the runner, but the latter should avoid being touched and reach the victory post.

Because Kṛṣṇa is associated with playing this game in moonlight with his cowherd-mates, this is also called *Hari-śaśī*. The ground for the game is to be prepared with squares like the checkered board for chess, the enclosures being 4 ft. squares and there being 5 or 7 of them; at the cross-lines, one of the other party is stationed and one called *Varttika* runs across the straight lines, and without leaving the line, should try to touch those standing inside the enclosures; those on the cross-lines and the *Varttika* should deceive those within the enclosures and enter the same and so on. Because of the importance of the enclosures, this game is also called *Koṣṭha-krīḍā*. This game survives in the Tamil region with the name *uppu-k-koḍu* and is thus identical with the *Lavaṇa-vīthī* mentioned in the *Jayamaṅgalā*. The Tamil name is a translation of the Sanskrit name, which is after the resemblance of the squares and the whole lay out of the ground of the game to the salt-pans.

A third game for the moon-lit night is the *mock-seige* in which small forts are raised, and some stay in and the others from outside attack the former with balls and sticks made of flowers, thus trying to capture the fort.

The ninth game is called after the field (*Kṣetra-krīḍā* or *Sasya-krīḍā*) which is the venue of the pastime. The season is *Hemanta* and the fields are full of ripe crops. The King's party repair to the fields; some are sent in advance to protect the field; special kinds of food with curds, wheat preparations, *poḷis* etc. are taken. A certain portion of the field is cleared for putting up the King's camp with shamiana; the fresh greens from the field are collected and presented by the King to members of his party and then they eat the special sweets and savouries they had brought. They collect fuel, light fire, and cook and fry fresh grams on the spot and eat them and over this, take butter-milk and edible leaves and fruits. The excursion ends at sun-down.

Then comes the common drinking party, in the forest or garden or indoors. The preparation of liquor from flour (*piṣṭa*) and other sources is described, as also the side-dishes, *dahi-bath*, lime-*bath*, etc. Music and dance go on as entertainments.

The *Prahelikā-krīḍā* is an intellectual diversion, included in the 64 Arts and it comprises conundrums, puzzles etc., all of which are found and dealt with in works of poetics and special works like the *Vidagdha-mukhamaṇḍana*.

Then comes the important game of chess, *Catu-raṅga*, based on the four constituents of the Indian

army, chariot, elephant, horse and foot-soldier and the King, Minister etc. The Chess is an Indian contribution to the world. Having gone out from India, originally, it has taken local colour and detail and the largest and widest collection of the chess-material from different parts of the world is to be had in the private collection of Mr. Harbison in Philadelphia.[1] Someśvara gives a detailed description of the game and a variety of its playing called *Sarvatobhadra.*[2]

Allied to the Chess, is the gambling called *Pāśaka* on the checkered board called *Śārīphalaka,* played with 15 white *Śārīs,* and 15 of mixed colours. Different kinds of *Śārī*-playing are given by Someśvara in some detail. At the end, Someśvara, as already quoted, warns Kings against the perils of this game.

A similar gambling with *Varāṭikās* or Chowries is then described. The date for the *Varāṭī* krīḍā is Āśvina dark fortnight Caturdaśī, the time being the small hours of the morning when the moon is seen first. *Yamatarpaṇa* is to be performed and the gambling started and continued till the *pañcamī* of the bright fortnight. It thus falls in the *Dīpāvalī* season. 500, 400 or a minimum of 300 *Kapardakas* are used. 4 *Dāyas* or throws with the names *Nandī, Jāgara, Trigā, Pūrṇa* with one, two, three and four chowries are employed. Further details of the play are furnished and reference

1. See p. 32 of my 'Sanskrit and Allied Indian Studies in U. S.', Gauhati, 1975.
2. The last chapter, the 8th, of the *Harihara-Caturaṅga* is devoted to this game. For a number of works on Chess, see *New Catalogu's Catalagorum,* VI, pp. 305–6.

is made also to deceitful players who hide the chowries. The above game is also called *Puñjikā-krīḍā.*

A second variety of it is also then described as played with four coloured chowries. A further variety played in Andhra country and called *Sapta-lekha* and involving large stake and loss is also referred to.

While on the game with chowries, I would like to refer to a harmless game played by us at home in the Tamil region called *Pallāṅguḷi* after a rectangular two-row wooden piece with pits; the two central pits in either row are called standing storage (*Vāḻum kāśī*) and the other pits are filled and emptied by alternate casting of a chowry in each pit by the two parties playing the game.

The 15th *Krīḍā* is *Phaṇidā,* played in the evening with one's own women and those near. This is also a variety of gambling or betting in which physical skill is also exhibited. Different kinds of fruits, sugarcane etc. are used and are cut atwain in a single stroke. Sometimes a hard thing like a cocoanut is also placed and similarly cut.

Although used as a means of betting, this is really part of Sword play. I have seen, when young, as part of the displays of strength, sword-play etc. on the *Vijayā-daśamī* day in *Dasarah,* a dexterous player in the midst of his complicated movements and flourishings of his sword, suddenly flashing the sword at the neck of a man lying on the floor with a green banana placed on his neck and his own sword cutting just the banana and never touching even the neck of that person.

The 16th *Phañjikā-krīḍā* is a game with chowries again and a variation on the *Saptalekhā* of Andhra described already. Coloured chowries and *maṇḍalas* and squares drawn on the floor are used. The play is done in evenings and nights with women, said to have been promulgated by Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs, and an aid to Śṛṅgāra.

Timira-krīḍā is a form of blind man's buff and hide and seek. It is done in day in a chamber darkened by closure of all windows and openings. Within this, with ground cleared of all obstructions, the King should play this with a large number of his women. Young boys of 8 or 9 should also be taken and employed to tease the blind-folded women, by touching them, pulling their limbs and garments. The irritated women make all sorts of noises and antics and protests, abuse, beat whomsoever they can lay hands on, run, fall down etc. causing laughter and merriment to the King. Following in the direction of the King's voice, they all converge towards him and the King moves away to another spot.

Vīra-krīḍā, the 18th is like the *Camatkāra-vinoda* of the previous set. *Vīra* is a *Sādhaka* or *Siddha* who gains miraculous powers and the symbols of these powers are 18 : Sword, Arrow, Mace, Vessel, Stick, Hand or palm, Cloth, Chalk, Collyrium, Sandals, Precious Stone, Vampire, Ring, Mercury, Treasure-trove, Chowrie, Dice and the Spoken word. Invincibility, victory, vessel on hand getting filled up by a desired thing, touching an object with a stick in one's hand and turning it into

any desired object, turning base metal to gold, invisibility, anything written on earth turning out accordingly, seeing imperceptible things, going anywhere, absence of danger from poison, evil spirits, fire and weapons, gaining the service of vampires for achieving impossible things (*cf. Mālatī-mādhava* Act V; also *Devī-Candragupta*), obtaining hidden treasures, success in gambling, whatever one says becoming true, are gained by these eighteen means.

The last but one game described by Someśvara is the diversion relating to love; gaining the affection of people is a natural gift of some individuals. Everything else is got by effort but love alone by luck.

विना पूर्वकृतैः पुण्यैः प्रेम यत्नान्न लभ्यते ।

Under this Someśvara gives a short discourse on love.

In the evening, the King should go out for a drive round the city and see things. In ancient India, evening walk, going to parks etc. were prevalent.[1]

The last *krīḍā*, the 20th, beginning with this drive and visits to places which the King is pleased to visit, ends with some enjoyment of music and dance and retirement for the night in the company of his beloved.

VIII

We shall now take up one by one and in the order of seasons, the large number of festivals that we

1. I collected the material on these recreational activities for a lecture which I gave in the Cosmopolitan Club, Madras, under the title "Is that Modern?"

know by collating all the sources mentioned above, poems, plays and other works of classical Sanskrit literature, the *Purāṇas* and the *Dharma Nibandhas*.

SPRING :

The Aśokāṣṭamī

The *Aśokāṣṭamī* occurs on the eighth of the *Śukla-pakṣa* of *Caitra*. The act consists of the drinking of eight buds of *Aśoka* which, with the mango, forms the the most prominent symbol and harbinger of the spring season. The *Smṛtikaustubha* calls it straight *Aśoka-kalikā-bhakṣaṇa*. When taking in the eight *Aśoka* buds, a verse is recited, praying for the end of all sorrow :

त्वामशोक हराभीष्ट मधुमाससमुद्भव ।
पिबामि शोकसंतापो (-तप्तो) मामशोकं सदा कुरु ।। [1]

In Orissa, the *Aśokāṣṭamī* is associated with *Pārvatī* performing her penance to attain *Śiva* at the foot of an *Aśoka* tree and gaining her objective. Women therefore take *Aśoka* buds on this day to get rid of their sufferings.[2]

The *Nilamata* speaks of a festival of worshipping *Aśokikā*, mentioned as a Goddess, on *Bhādrapada Śukla Aṣṭamī*, (787–790). Goddess *Umā* is also to be worshipped for securing conjugal happiness. Although this would be an *Aśoka aṣṭamī*, it has to be distinguished from the *Aśokāṣṭamī* of the spring. Similarly the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* gives an *Aśokāṣṭamī* as worship of

1. See *JRAS*. 1901, pp. 127–0, K. C. Ray, *Aśokāṣṭamī*.
2. See p. 106, *A Study of Orissan Folklore* by Kunjabehari Das, Visvabharati Series 16, Santiniketan, 1953.

the *Devī* on every *Aṣṭami* of the dark fortnight beginning with *Bhādrapada (Āśvina) Kṛṣṇa Aṣṭamī.*

The Aṣṭamīcandraka

Śāradātanaya mentions the *Aṣṭamīcandraka* as a spring festival. Vātsyāyana does not mention it first in his list of festivals but later he has occasion to mention it in Ch. III and there the *Jayamangalā* has a gloss on it. Bhoja mentions this in both his works, and calls it by another name also, the *Spṛhayantīvrata.* This latter name means the vow or observance of a lady who yearns in love and suggests that it was observed by the lady to secure the object of her affection or to induce a more favourable attitude on the part of the husband. Bhoja specifices its date as the eighth *Caturthī* calculated from the first *Caturthī* of the *Caitra* month.[1] This is in part explanation of the name *Aṣṭamīcandraka* but it is very difficult to interpret this explanation of Bhoja. The *Sāhityamīmāmsā* (TSS 114, 1934, p. 151) which draws heavily on Bhoja, however, avoids Bhoja's involved explanation and describes it straight as being done on *Caitra-caturthī* although its explanation of the words *Aṣṭamī* and *Candra* and the connection between the two is hardly clear. As regards the main feature of this festival, Bhoja says that ladies in love worship the Moon on this occassion. The illustrative *Gāthā* whose meaning is not fully clear refers to worship and offering being made to the Moon (SKĀ. p. 575). The *Jayamangalā* has a little more information; according to it, the whole of the day is observed by fasting and in the night, vigil is kept with

1. See my 'Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa,' 1963, p. 649.

the continuous performance of worship, obviously of the Moon, up to the time of its rise. The statement, 'night-vigil' would require a rather late rising Moon in the dark fortnight, as in the eighth day, *Aṣṭamī*, which is justified by the name *Aṣṭamī*-candraka too. This contradicts Bhoja's date given in his involved interpretation, bringing in a *Caturthī* or fourth day; the explanation for this descrepancy is to be seen perhaps in a local variation obtaining in the observance of the *Aṣṭamīcandraka.*

The worship of the Moon and prayer to him for the bestowal of conjugal felicity is indeed a charming idea. In the *Vikramorvaśīya* of Kālidāsa, Act III, we have an observance, a *Vrata* as it is specifically called often, which corresponds to the *Aṣṭamīcandraka;* at least the name *Spṛhayantīvrata* corresponds to the name which Kālidāsa gives to it viz., *Priyānuprasādana.* In the play, the love of Purūravas is gone from the chief queen Auśīnarī or *Kāśīrājaputrī* to the celestial damsel Ūrvaśī but the Queen is such a devoted virtuous wife, a *Pativratā,* that she performs a religious observanec to pray to the Moon that she might be blessed with amity and good will towards her lord, the King. The husband is to be present at the time of this worship of the Moon; the Moon in conjunction with his favourite star Rohiṇī is adored on the crystal flooring on the open terrace of the palace, by offering of flowers etc. to his rays reflected there. The lady prays to the Moon with his beloved constellation *Rohiṇī* which symbolises the happy union of those in love. From the

details of the date indicated, it is clear that this cannot be identified with the *Aṣṭamīcandraka*.

The Vasantotsava

This is the Spring festival proper, for celebrating the advent of Spring, the most pleasant of the seasons. Bhoja (*SKĀ*. p. 575) speaks of the *Suvasantaka* which, on the analogy of '*Suprabhāta*' meaning 'good morning', means the greetings offered to the new Spring. According to the *Jayamangalā*, music and dancing form part of the welcome and rejoicings displayed on the occasion. A good picture of this is to be seen in the play *Ratnāvalī* of King Harṣa where, as the first Act opens, we have this Spring festival going on in the palace and the city and the king observing from his pavilion above the maids in attendance singing and dancing the *Carcarī* and other songs. The *Carcarī* is a rhythm, and from the song, it extends to the dance in which that song is sung and then signifies also the Spring festival in which this dance is done. People drink and rejoice in the company of women, throw water through Syringes and coloured powder, on each other.

The Madanotsava or *Madanatrayodaśī*

This is the worship of the God of Love and comes off on the 13th oft he bright half of the *Caitra* — *Śukla-Trayodaśi* – and is hence called *Madana-trayodaśī*. Manmatha and his spouse Rati, as also their friend and aid, the Spring, *Vasanta,* are worshipped on this day by ladies. According to the *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* (Ch. 135), this is the day on which the God of love, who had been burnt by Śiva, was revived at Pārvatī's request (Śls. 13-16), a theme which Kālidāsa has

immortalised in his *Kumārasambhava.* The image of *Kāma* or love has to be painted under the figure of an *Aśoka* tree, together with his two spouses Rati and Prīti (Śls. 19–20). Other figures to be drawn in the scene are Śiva, the Spring Season, celestial damsels, *Gandharvas* and musicians. Men and women are to worship these in a group at noon (Śl. 23). It is however specially for ladies who should not only worship the God of love on this day but worship also their husbands as images of that God.

स्वपतिं पूजयेन्नारी वस्त्रमाल्यविभूषणैः ।
कामोऽयमिति सञ्चिन्त्य प्रष्टेनान्तरात्मना ॥

An excellent picture of this festival is in the same play *Ratnāvalī* (Act I) where the Queen performs this worship. It is part of the Spring festival and the series of happy celebrations. King Udayana is introduced as appearing verily like a second God of love. The Queen Vāsavadattā is said to have just had an auspicious bath and to be in fine red-coloured dress, but without many ornaments. (See also *SKĀ*, p. 576). The *Bhaviṣyottara* (Śl. 28) adds that the night has to be spent without sleep. Friends should be presented with camphor, saffron, sandal water and *pān-supāri* and drink is to be served to the servants. There is to be the *Rāsa* dance, i. e. the dance of women or men and women, in a circle. This is to be a public festival too and it is the duty of the king to have it properly conducted. The fruit is that men and women will be blessed with mutual love and felicity (Śl. 36).

चैत्रोत्सवे सकललोकमनोनिवासे
कामं वसन्तमलयाद्रिमरुत्सहायम् ।
पत्न्या सहार्च्य पुरुषप्रवरोऽथ योषित्
सौभाग्यरूपसुखसौख्ययुता सदा स्यात् ॥

The prose romance *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla mentions this festival of *Anangotsava* in Spring (pp. 68–9, NS Press edn. 1903); we are told here that by reason of the all-night vigil, it is called *Madana-jāgara*, and the songs sung by the wives at this time are to be listened to by the husbands. In the illustrative *Gāthā* cited by Bhoja (*SKĀ*., p. 575) we have the picture of the young women of the village going about bedecked with the flowers of the new Spring and eyes red with the drink they had taken.

The *Bhavisyottara* has, earlier in Ch. 90, a description of the *Anaṅgatrayodaśī*, according to which this worship of *Kāma* is to be done every *Trayodaśī* beginning with that day in *Mārgaśīrṣa* and continued every month of the year.

There were separate temples to Kāmadeva with a garden called *Madanodyāna*, as Act I of the *Mālatīmādhava* shows. In Tamil classics too, like the *Śilappati kāram*, the temple to Kāma and the festival of song, dance and merriment associated with Kāma are mentioned.

The Ekaśālmalī

The *Ekaśālmalī* is a pastime indulged in by both men and women gathered together and is called also *Krīḍāśālmalī* and *Śālmalīmūlakhelana*. Vātsyāyana mentions it and the *Jayamaṅgalā* explains it thus : people

gather round a big *Śālmalī* tree, deck themselves with its flowers and play. According to this commentary, this is a sport of the Vidarbha country. Bhoja (*SKĀ*., p. 576) gives it more definitely as a game of Hide and Seek played by men and women round about a *Śālmalī* tree; Bhoja and following him, the *Sāhityamīmāṃsā* (p. 149) say that the Hide and Seek is done with closed eyes (*Sunimīlitaka*). The *Kandarpacūḍāmaṇī* gives more exercise to the men and women by making them hide themselves and seek each other on the boughs of the tree itself.

The Aśokottamsikā

The *Aśokottamsikā* is the beautiful Spring celebration in which charming damsels bedeck themselves and with their foot painted with red *alaktaka* paste and having the tinkling anklet on, administer a kick to the *Aśoka* tree in their gardens when it is sluggish in putting forth its blossoms. Whether it is botanically explainable or not, Sanskrit poetry believes that certain trees and creepers have a yearning for some kind of attention from charming women, on receiving which alone they would burst into blossoms. The *Aśoka* among these longs for a kick from the soft foot of a lady tinkling with anklets.[1] When in a few days its flowers come

1. On the different kinds of *Dohada* of different trees and the attentions they long for from ladies, see my 'Seasons in Sanskrit Literature', 1972, pp. 91–2. The *Sāhityamīmāmsā* (p. 151) gives the common name *Dohadikā* to the different kinds of fulfilling the yearning of different trees *Aśoka*, *Vakula* etc. by the ladies kicking, spitting the drink from their mouths and so on.

forth, the ladies celebrate the effloresence and deck themselves with the blossoms. The poems have frequent references to thc *Aśokadohada* or the longing of the *Aśoka* and in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa (Act III), it is used in an exquisite scene and as a motif on which the plot of the drama turns. (See also *SKĀ*. p. 576).

The Cūtabhañjikā

Bhoja describes this as the plucking of clusters of fresh mango blossoms at the beginning of Spring by young ladies and the offering of these as arrows to Manmatha, the flower-arrowed God of love, who torments us with the most delicate things as his missiles. No doubt the God of love can take his flower-arrows direct from the trees of Spring but surely when they are taken and presented by such agents as the young ladies these arrows gain greater sharpness. This offering of flower-arrows to Manmatha, with the fresh sprouts and buds of mango just plucked, is seen at the opening of Act VI of Kalidāsa's *Śākuntala* :

त्वमसि मया चूताङ्कुर दत्तः कामाय गृहीतधनुषे।
पथिकजनयुवतिलक्ष्यः पञ्चाभ्यधिकः शरो भव॥ *(chāyā)*

See also Bhoja's *SKĀ*. p. 577.

The five flower-arrows of the God of love are the lotus, the *Aśoka*, the mango, the jasmine, and the lily. The Mango-blossoms are the first harbingers of Spring and hence figure in a special festival of the re-armament of Manmatha.

The Puṣpāvacāyikā or the *Vakulapuṣpāvacāyikā*

The *Puṣpāvacāyikā* or the *Vakulapuṣpāvacāyikā* is similar to the two previous festivals, *Aśokottamsikā* and *Cūtabhañjikā*. The *Vakula* is a tree which yearns for

a different attention from the ladies before it displays its flowers; on the *Vakula*, damsels in the height of their love and intoxication, should spit the half-drunk wine in their mouth. Men and women gather round this tree in the park for drinking parties, when this ceremony is done; and when the flowers appear on the Vakula, they pluck and deck themselves with them.

There are other trees which would want more intimate attentions beginning with the embrace of a sweet woman.

When on these three kinds of festivals of flowers, we may recall some others of this class whose antiquity is vouched by Pāṇini as already pointed out. That large numbers of men and women went on excursion to the woods on the outskirts of cities when the trees would be laden with blossoms, swarming with bees and enchanting with the warbling of birds, and there indulged in the merriment of bending the boughs of these trees and plucking their flowers, with music, dance and mirth, and that these formed a regular festival of flowers is attested by references in Pāṇini and descriptions in Buddhistic literature, both of which have already been referred to. Another evidence of this bending the *Sāla* tree and plucking its flowers by the ladies having been a festival of great vogue is the impress that it has left on Indian art where the figure of *Sāla-bhañjikā* became one of the most beautiful motifs, in the sculpturing of *Toraṇas* or doorways, a motif which can be traced from Barhut and Sañchi to the pilasters of the *gopuras* or entrance-towers of the latest South Indian temples. In fact, the grace with which the lady went up to the tree,

the attractive disporting of her limbs in the act of trying, from the ground, to catch and bend a flowery bough and the exquisite pose in which she rested with the bough in one hand and gathered the flowers by the other, became such a recurrent motif of sculpture that the word *Sālabhañjikā* became a byword for a beautiful female sculpture or statue. For a detailed treatment of this attractive theme, Dr. Vogel's work 'The Women and Tree or Sālabhañjika in Literature and Art'[1] may be referred to.

The Kundacaturthī or Yavacaturthī

This is referred to by Vātsyāyana by its other name *Yavacaturthī*. In one of his verses, Bhoja mentions it along with festivals which excite the feeling of love, *Smara*.[2] According to Bhoja this is a festival in which young women spread *Yava* twigs and blossoms in the gardens and woodlands and roll on them. But the *Jayamaṅgalā* describes the *Yava-caturthī* differently as a spring festival of the *Vaiśākha* month, on the fourth day of the bright fortnight when people scatter on each other fragrant *Yava* flower-dust. The *Jayamaṅgalā* adds that this was current in Western India. In the name *Kunda-caturthī*, the significance of *Kunda* which is a variety of Jasmine, is obscure; but there is another festival of the same name *Kundacaturthī* which we shall notice when we come to the month of *Māgha*.

1. *Acta Orientalia* VII. 1929, pp. 201–31.
2. अष्टमीचन्द्रके कुन्दचतुर्थ्यां सुवसन्तके ।
स्मरः स्मरार्चा शक्रार्चा यक्षरात्रिषु वर्धते ॥
Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Ch. IV, p. 233, my new edn. in Harvard Ori. Ser.

The Udakakṣveḍikā

This is a well-known pastime in which men and women take syringes, *Śṛṅgas*, filled with fragrant coloured water and strike and drench each other; hence it is called also *Śṛṅgakriḍā.* This feature has however been detached as a festival motif and tacked on as a further detail of enrichment to other celebrations like the Holi. Several beautiful miniature-paintings of this are known.

The Cūtalatikā or *Navalatikā*

This is an amusement in which men and women choose their lovers in the following manner: the ladies take mango-twigs, *Cūtalatikās,* in their hands and go about asking each other who her lover is and the lady so accosted points out her lover by striking him with the mango twig. The *SKĀ*. (p. 577) says that a *Palāśa*-twig is also used in this; the illustrative *Gāthā* in the *Deśīnāmamālā* (IV. 21) also mentions the *Palāśa*-twig. But, according to this *Gāthā,* the woman is asked the name of her lover and when she does not speak out, she is struck with the *Palāśa*-twig.

नियमविशेषश्च णवलया ज्ञेया।
आदाय पलाशलतां भ्राम्यति लोको यस्याम्।
पृष्टा पतिनाम स्त्री निहयन्ते चाप्यकथयन्ती ॥[1] *(Chāyā)*

The twig is, in fact, just a fresh one from any tree and is but a symbol of the new Season and the 'striking'

1. See also the other Gāthā under IV.21 :

दोलाविलाससमए पुच्छेन्ती हिं सहीदि पइणामं।
लट्ठीहि हणिज्जन्ती बहुआ णवलयवयं भरइ॥

effect of love; hence in some of the poetical works this is simply called *Navalatā* – 'the New Twig'. The poem *Haravijaya*[1] (XVII. 93) of Ratnākara and Alaka's commentary thereon describe this *Navalatikā* as a Spring festival marked by the voluntary embraces which the lovers get from their beloveds. This gives a new turn to the meaning of the name *Navalatā*, taking the 'new twig' merely as a comparison and without being used for striking.

भ्राम्यद्भिर्धनमकरन्दशीधुपान × × × नवलतोत्सवः शशंसे ॥ *Haravijaya*

Alaka : नवलताख्यश्च वसन्तोत्सवः अभिनन्दितः ।
यत्राभिनवया वध्वा लतयेव मधौ द्रुमः ।
स्वयमालिङ्ग्यते कान्तः स स्यान्नवलतोत्सवः ॥

Although in its illustrative *Gāthā*, the *Sāhityamīmāmsā* follows the *SKĀ.*, in its verse defining this game it says simply, like Alaka, that it refers to women going to see and enjoy the sight of trees in the embrace of fresh creepers :

तरून्नवलतामुक्तान् भावयन्ति ययाङ्गनाः ।
क्रिया मनोज्ञा तु नवलतिकाख्या भवे्त् सा ॥
(p. 152)

In the Prākṛt *Gāthās* quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka* and the *SKĀ.*, we have the sweet racapitulation of the body where the stroke fell and the thrill and horripilation of it which that limb still retained Sometimes it is the man who strikes and sometimes the woman.

अज्जाए पहारो णवलदाए दिण्णो पिएण थणवट्टे ।
मिउओ वि दूसहो व्विअ जाओ हिअए सवत्तीणम् ॥
(*Dhav.* Ā. p. 52)

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1. K. M. 22.

णवलअपहारभङ्गे जहिं जहिं महइ देवरो दाउम्।
रोमञ्चदण्डराई तहिं तहिं दीसइ वहूए॥[1]

(*Gāthāsaptaśatī* I. 28; *SKĀ*. 309)

Gāthā V. 56 of the *Saptaśatī* presents another picture of this same *Navalatā* among the village folk in which a young girl is seen running about to avoid the striking by the young man.

The Pāñcālānuyāna

The *Pāñcālānuyāna* is a procession of dolls accompanied by young women. Bhoja identifies it with the *Bhūtamātṛkā*. His *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* says that the festival was promulgated by Pāñcāla Muni, who is one of the authors of the erotic lore and taking the word Pāñcāla again in its sense of dolls, adds that in it the dolls were followed, with the people in diverse dress, talk and actions;[2] and that it is well-known as the *Bhūtamātā*. If this is a procession of dolls or a doll or image of some deity, accompanied by girls in fancy-dress and indulging in hilarious talk, we may see a festival similar to this in what was surviving till the other day, in Tamil country, the *Pasuvan* in which the girls in different dress accompanied a doll-procession, singing and doing the dance with short sticks called *Daṇḍa-rāsaka* or *Śamyā-rāsaka* in Sanskrit and *Kolāṭṭam* in Tamil in which they executed a variety of designs, standing in

1. For another *Gāthā* on Navalatā and the striking of the woman with it, see *SKĀ*. V. 229.

2. Ridgeway relates this to the Puppet Theatre (pp. 160–1, 'The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races'). This seems to be farfetched.

rows and jumping and striking the sticks of the opposite ones or forming a circle. The *Jayamaṅgalā* briefly says that this is a sport found in Mithilā and that dolls figure in it.[1] Of the festival known as *Bhūtamātṛkā* itself, we shall speak when we come to those of the *Jyeṣṭha* month to which *Hemādri* assigns it.

Summer:

We are now at the end of Spring and the hotter days of Summer bring on festivals and amusements which draw men and women all the more into outdoor activities.

The *Bhāvaprakāśa* speaks of the pastimes of Summer as the excursions to parks and wooded places, baths and water-sports, gathering of flowers in the forests, enjoyment of fruits such as the mango and the celebration of playful marriages between trees and creepers, for example the *Cūta* or mango tree with the creeper called *Mādhavī*. The *Mahākāvyas* of Bhāravī and Māgha, and other poems that follow their plan, set apart cantos for the description of these. The *Udyāna-yātrā* or excursion into a garden or wood is the first stage of this series of Summer-enjoyments. The gathering of flowers and fruits as they go and the love-pranks they enjoy form the next stage by which time they feel somewhat fatigued and hence resort to the

1. Frazer mentions (*The Golden Bough*, p. 121) that in Spring, at the towns of Saffron Walden and Debden in Essex, on the 1st of May, little girls go about in parties from door to door, singing a song and carrying garlands and in the middle of each garland there is a doll dressed in white; and that a similar custom prevails also in Vosges mountains.

waters, i. e. towards the hottest part of the day when they divert themselves with *Jalakrīḍā*, swimming, playing, striking each other with jets or sprays of water, stealthily approaching through water and frightening or pulling the leg. The sophistication of the ancient Indian *Nāgaraka* was such that it lifted a mere bath to the level of an art or *Kalā*, and two of the 64 arts or accomplishments mentioned by Vātsyāyana refer to the water-sports: the *Udakavādya* and *Udakāghāta*. These two referred to playing on water as on drums and raising rumbling sounds with palms joined together. In India this art is practically dead, although the rising of a column of water with some sound by joining the two palms and pressing the water is still done by youngsters while bathing in rivers and tanks. Some form of it is said to be maintained in Kerala where Brahman ladies do it when they bathe on the occasion of the festival called *Tiruvātirakkali*. But the reality of such a thing is proved well by its survival in the history of our culture in South-East Asia, in Java, where this drum-play on water is, as Dr. Kunst has shown in his *Music of Java*, called Chiblon. Kunst says 'rhythmic beating with hand in different ways (either with the crooked or with the flat hand), on, and in the water, by bathing children (and sometimes by their elders), who, with the natural musicality peculiar to the Javanese race, succeed in producing, in this way, a surprisingly good ensemble-effect.[1]

1. *Music in Java*, by J. Kunst. The Hague, 1949, Vol. I, p. 294. Kunst adds in the footnote that this is referred to in Old Kakawin literature, e. g. *Smaradahana*, Canto IV, stanza 11.

The *Cūta-mādhavī-navasamāgama* or the celebration of the marriage of the mango tree and the *Mādhavī* creeper is quite poetic. In the *Śākuntala* where Kālidāsa integrates Nature and human heart into a synthesis and intimacy, we have Śakuntalā and her two friends, Anasūyā and Priyamvadā, celebrating this marriage of the mango and the creeper *Vanajyotsnā* which we see in the opening Act and again hear of in Act IV, on the eve of Śakuntalā's departure to Duṣyanta's palace. Apart from the poetry, there seems to be an ancient and universal practice of celebrating marriage of trees and plants.[1]

Sugrīṣmaka

Like the *Suvasantaka*, the festival of welcome to the Spring, there seems to have been a festival welcoming the Summer season called *Sugrīṣmaka*. The only reference to it that I came across is the one in Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā* VII. 39 and its commentary, where a further reference to it is given from Bhāmaha; the citation is too brief and it cannot be made out which Bhāmaha is the one quoted here.

The Vaṭasāvitrī and the Bhūtamahotsava or Bhūtamātṛkā

The *Vaṭasāvitrī-vrata* is perhaps the most important Summer festival. In dramatic literature, we have an extensive presentation of it in Act IV of Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*.[2] Among *Purāṇas*, the *Skānda* and *Bhaviṣyottara* describe it. These two sources run on

1. Frazer, p. 114.
2. *K. M.* 4. *HOS.* IV.

parallel lines, the former (V, Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, chs. 165–6) being more elaborate; and both emphasise the artistic side as much as the religious side (*Bhaviṣya*, ch. 102). According to Rājaśekhara this Summer-festival is to be celebrated with various kinds of dances by women. *Lāsya*, i. e. delicate dance by women, is mentioned, and along with it, *Daṇḍarāsaka* by 32 dancers; this latter is the well-known dance with small sticks, not Staff-dance as wrongly suggested by Sten Konow.[1] In another dance, the women divide themselves into two rows facing each other. Two other dances of this festival are the comic dance and the dance of women dressed as hunters. The fourth dance depicts the fierce sentiment of *Raudra Rasa*; with flesh in hand, dancers represent the scene of the crematorium (Śmaśāna) with facial masks to portray goblins and ghosts. This suggests association with Śaivite cults like the *Bhairava*. Vocal and instrumental music is in attendance and while in one place drums like *Huḍukkās* and *Mardalas* are beaten, in another, the *Vīṇā* and flute are played. There is still one more special dance mentioned, the *Yoginīvalayanartana-keli*, the dance in a ring by *Yoginīs*, women ascetics, which again would suggest the relation to Śaivite sects like the *Bhairava* (IV.10–17).[2] In a

1. His edn. of *Karpūramañjarī* in the *HOS.*, p. 280.

2. परिभ्रमन्त्यो विचित्रबन्धमिमा द्विषोडश नर्तक्यः ।
खेलन्ति तालानुगपदास्तवाङ्गणे दृश्यते दण्डरासः ॥
समांसशीर्षाः समबाहुहस्ता रेखाविशुद्धा अपराश्च ददति ।
पङ्क्तिभ्यां द्वाभ्यां लयतालबन्धं परस्परं साभिमुखा भवन्ति ॥
इमा मषीकज्जलश्यामकायास्त्रिकाण्डचापाश्च विलासिन्यः ।
पुलिन्दरूपेण जनस्य हासं समयूरपिञ्छाभरणाः कुर्वन्ति ॥ [fn. contd.

statement that precedes the description of these dances, the *Vaṭasāvitrī-mahotsava* is said to come in four days.[1] In a statement after the dances, it is said that on the Caturdaśī just preceding the festival, the Śaiva ascetic with miraculous powers, Bhairavānanda, is said to have consecrated an image in ruby of Gaurī and the initiation for the festival had been gone through.[2] A little later, a shrine for Cāmuṇḍā, with a cave behind, under a Banyan tree in the centre of the Queen's garden is mentioned.[3]

The *Purāṇas*, already mentioned, and the *Smṛti* digests know the *Vaṭasāvitrī-vrata*. Hemādri extracts the *Skanda Purāṇa* account of it referred to above.[4] According to the *Skanda Purāṇa*, the festival owes its

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कापि वादितकरालहुडुक्का रम्यमर्दलरवेण मृगाक्षी ।
भ्रूलताभ्यां परिपाटीचलाभ्यां चेटीकर्मकरणे प्रवृत्ता ॥
किङ्किणीकृतरणज्झणशब्दाः कण्ठगीतलययन्त्रिततालाः ।
योगिनीवलयनर्तनकेलिं तालनूपुररवं विरचयन्ति ॥
कौतूहलवशाचञ्चलवेषा वेणुवादनपरा अपराः ।
कालवेषवशहासितलोका अपसरन्ति प्रणमन्ति हसन्ति ॥ (*Chāyā*)

1. अथ चतुर्थदिवसे भाविवटसावित्रीमहोत्सवोपकरणानि केलिविमानप्रासादमारुह्य प्रेक्षितव्यानीति । (*Chāyā*)
2. अनन्तरातिक्रान्तचतुर्दशीदिवसे देव्या पद्मरागमणिमयी गौरी कृत्वा भैरवानन्देन प्रतिष्ठापिता। स्वयं दीक्षा गृहीता। (*Chāyā*)
3. देवीकारितप्रमदोद्यानस्य मध्यस्थितवटतरुमूले चामुण्डायतने भैरवानन्दो देवी चागमिष्यति। × × × इयं सा वटतरुमूले निर्भिन्नस्य सुरङ्गद्वारस्य पिधान चामुण्डा ।
4. The *Nibandhas* have some additional lines not found in the *Purāṇa* accounts. Basing himself on the extracts in the *Nibandhas*, Hemādri and *Vratārka*, A. H. Allen gives an account of the *Vaṭasāvitrī-vrata* in the J. A. O. S., XXI, 2nd half, pp. 53–66.

name to its inauguration by Sāvitrī, wife of Satyavān. In the account of the story in the *Mahābhārata*, Vana, as the day of the predicted end of Satyavān approaches, Sāvitrī is said to observe an austerity for three days for warding off the evil. The *Purāṇic* accounts of the *Sāvitrī-vrata* take off from this and describe it as a *Vrata* observed by women for warding off widowhood (*avaidhavya*). The *Bhaviṣyottara* (ch. 102) says that Sāvitrī performed it after getting back her husband from *Yama* and in the company of her husband. The time given in this *Purāṇa* is *Bhādrapada* full-moon day and the two preceding days. As this festival has some unmistakable relation to the *Bhūtamātṛkā*, more of its features will be clear if we consider that festival.

The Bhūtamātṛ festival comes off in the same month of *Jyeṣṭha* and is celebrated from the *Pratipad* to the *Pūrṇimā*, the first to the full-moon day. This is also called the *Bhairavotsava*. Hemādri records its description as given in the *Bhaviṣyottara*. *Bhairava* is the god in whose honour this is held, a link which was pointed out above in some of the dances of this celebration as portrayed by Rājaśekhara. People dress themselves according to their fancy in grotesque and comic roles, and giving full reins to their behaviour, indulge in coarse talks and gestures. Other interesting details about the performance of this *Vrata* given here are: Seven grains – rice, barley, sesamum etc., are to be put into a bamboo container and tied over with a piece of cloth. An image of Goddess Sāvitrī, with Brahmā, is to be made in mud or metal, according to one's means, and worshipped by the women who pray that widowhood

be warded off. अवैधव्यं प्रयच्छ मे। Night-vigil is to be observed with entertainments of music and dance, merrymaking and the narration and exposition of Sāvitrī's story. Next morning the worshipper breaks fast and gives away to a Brahman the Sāvitrī image along with a *load of Wood* (*Kāṣṭhabhāra*); the latter is clearly a reminder of the incident in the *Mahābhārata* story of Satyavān going out to cut wood and falling dead during that act.

The *Skanda Purāṇa* account of the *Vaṭasāvitrī* (chs. 165, 166, Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa) is long and shows some differences and additional details. Firstly, the date of the *Vrata* is given by the *Skānda* as the *Jyeṣṭha* month, 13th, 14th and full-moon day. The *Skānda* also says, like the *Bhaviṣya*, that King *Aśvapati*, who was childless, worshipped Goddess Sāvitrī and Brahmā and the Goddess incarnated as Aśvapati's daughter. In the *Skānda*-account, it is said that sand or grains must be put into a bamboo-vessel and Sāvitrī's image set up on it and wound over with two pieces of cloth. Seven couples (Dampatīs) are to be honoured with clothes etc. On the full-moon night, fourteen couples are to be called at the foot of a banyan (*Vaṭa*); early morning, food-stuffs are to be brought to that spot and food cooked there and the fourteen couples feasted in front of Sāvitrī's image. Eight defects of women are said to be warded off by observing this *Vrata*, – widowhood, barrenness, lucklessness, motherhood in maiden state, absence of husband's love, seperation from him, heart-burnings and illness. The food taken at the *Vrata* includes five kinds of sweets and excludes acid, bitter or salt dishes. Pradakṣiṇā of the spot of Sāvitrī worship

under the *Vaṭa* is to be done. One may return home, offer Piṇḍa and Śrāddha to ancestors and then eat. The night is to be spent with music, dance etc. The *Skānda* describes then (ch. 167) the worship of *Bhūta-mātā* whose image is to be set up at a distance of a hundred bows to the west of the spot where Sāvitrī's image was set up.

The *Skānda* account of the *Vaṭasāvitrī* opens (ch. 165) with a story about Sāvitrī and Brahmā. The latter was to perform a sacrifice and Sāvitrī was delayed in joining as she had to take Lakṣmī and Pārvatī with her. As the time for starting the sacrifice had come, Indra created an *Ābhīra* woman, made her Brahmā's spouse and started the sacrifice. Sāvitrī came and cursed them all; and then a fresh sacrifice was gone through by Brahmā, along with her, at *Prabhāsa Kṣetra*. There is perhaps a folk-element in the incident of an *Ābhīra* woman.

The description of the *Bhūtamātṛ* festival in ch. 167 of the Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa of the *Skānda*, is more elaborate. As already mentioned, this closely follows the *Vaṭasāvitrī-vrata*, with the statement that Bhūtamātā is to be set up at one hundred bows distance from the Sāvitrī-image under the *Vaṭa*. *Bhūtamātā* is surrounded by goblins and ghosts and numerous attendants. At this festival, some prattle like mad people, some fall down like intoxicated ones, some run against others like angry ones, some are dragged about like corpses, some make faces as if affected by rheumatism, and some wallow is ash and filth. *Bhūtamātā* with her terrible appearance, surrounded by similar beings,

Brahma-rākṣasīs, was born from Pārvatī herself. A similar male Bhūta also arose from Śiva and the two fell in love. Śiva directed these two to take their abode at Prabhāsa in Saurāṣṭra. Their natural habitations are the throny tree, the Niṣpāva creeper, the remarried widow, and the ant-hill. A member of other undesirable things, places and persons are also enumerated as the fit abode of these two. *Bhūtamātā* is said to do good to the children and her worship to be conducive to the healthy growth of children.

The old Banyan tree (*Jarat-taru*) under which she is to be set up for worship is called *Siddhavaṭa*. The worship starts on the first of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha and goes up to the forteenth. All through these days there should be the *Peraṇī*-dance (प्रेरणीप्रेक्षणीयकैः) and the imitation of the acts of heretics (पाखण्डानां विडम्बनैः) and other comic acts (हास्यपरैरद्भुतचेष्टितैः). On the fifth night especially, people keep awake and indulge in tumultuous activities. There is to be the show of a sinful person being impaled, of another sinful person being maimed in the arms and taken on ass-back and so on, which are evidently representations of punishments meted out in Hell for various sins. A woman, with hanging hair does the Tāṇḍava dance like a Yoginī (विमुक्तकेशां नृत्यन्तीं पश्यध्वं योगिनोमिव। गम्भीरनूपुरध्वानप्रवृद्धोद्धतताण्डवाम्॥) (93–94). There is a procession of children (*Ḍimbha-maṇḍalī*) with a basket at their waist and clad in woolen. All these dances are called *Preraṇī* (96). On the eleventh or ninth, a fire is to be raised in a pit; replicas of the heads of the Mātṛs, Caṇḍikā etc. and

of Rākṣasas etc., are to be made and after worship, these have to be cast away on the new moon day.

In the evening an auspicious torch is to be lit and taken round the city and it is to be kept till the fifteenth day when the festival of Bhūtamātā, surrounded by Bhūtas and Piśācas, is to be started (103). The worship of Bhūtamātā removes all evil and bestows domestic welfare.

Here again some folk-practices are evidently mixed. In fact, at the very outset of the account in the *Skānda*, the question is asked: 'Are all these practices seen in the *Bhūtamātṛ*–festival according to the Śāstras or are they folk-practices ?' किमेष शास्त्रनिर्दिष्टो मार्गः किमुत लौकिकः (167–6). The resemblance here to the dances and other shows, the *Yoginī-nartana* and *Śmaśānābhinaya*, described by Rājaśekhara is clear; even so, as we shall see presently, the similarity to the *Peraṇī*-dance in the *Nāṭya* literature.

As I said at the outset, the history of Indian dance gets lighted up during the study of these festivals. The dances of this festival have gone down into the books of music and dance. In the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva written under King Singhaṇa of the Yādavas of Devagiri and other works of this class like the *Nṛttaratnāvali* of Jāya Senāpati, commander of the elephant corps under the Kākatīya King Gaṇapati, written about the same time, which I have edited,[1] we have forms of dances called *Goṇḍalī* and *Peraṇī* or *Preraṇā* described as forming part of the *Bhūtamātṛ*–festival.

1. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, 1967.

This dance involves satire and imitation of heretics and farcical shows; one of the farcical scenes depicted is mentioned as that of an old tottering Brahman being waylaid by a harlot and her agents. The wild dances of ladies dressed as ascetics are also referred to, and it is these that Rājaśekhara designates *Yoginīvalaya-nartana-keli*. We have graphic descriptions of the *Peraṇī*-dances and antics in the Telugu *Prabandhas* of Pālkuriki Somanātha.[1]

The *Nṛttaratnāvali* of *Jāya Senāpati*, mentioned above, devotes some attention to these dances and refers to its source as Someśvara, i. e. Someśvara Bhūlokamalla of the Cālukyas af Kalyān (who compiled, as stated above, the thesaurus called *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*) who described the dance called *Goṇḍali* as done in the *Bhūtamātṛ*-festival [2] *Goṇḍali* is vernacular for the hunter and ladies disguise themselves in this dance as *Śabaras*, hunters, and do their dance. This is the hunter's dance referred to by Rājaśekhara in his presentation of the *Vaṭasāvitrī-vrata*.

As a *Vrata* for *Saumaṅgalya* of woman, the *Vaṭasāvitrī* is still observed in parts of North India. Tod notices its celebration in Rājasthān; the Nāgars of Gujarat observe it on the full-moon day of *Jyeṣṭha*.

As pointed out already, Bhoja equates the *Pāñcālānuyāna* with the *Bhūtamātṛkā* and his illustrative

1. See page 20 of my Introduction to the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*.
2. *Ib.*, p. 229 (Text) and pp. 134–6, Introduction. Actually in the *Mānasollāsa* itself, there is only a passing reference to *Bhūtamātṛ* as one of the occasions for dance (Vol. III, p. 119. Sl. 951).

Gāthā in the S.K.Ā. (V.310) describes a woman dancing in a frenzy as it were at the *Bhūtotsava*. In the *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* (ch. 34) and in the *Sāhityamīmāṁsā*, which follows the *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, the illustrative Prākṛt verses are from the *Vaṭasāvitrī*-dances in the *Karpūramañjarī*.

The Araṇyaṣaṣṭhī

The *Araṇyaṣaṣṭhī* is a festival coming on the 6th of the bright half of the *Jyeṣṭha*. Women take a long walk into the wood and worship *Ṣaṣṭhīdevī*, the guardian of the pregnant state of women. In the woods, some one will expound to their gathering the story of this *Vrata* or observance which is done for the safe confinement, delivery and welfare of the children. This is said to prevail in Bengal.

According to another account, on the *Araṇyaṣaṣṭhī* day matrons go to a Banyan (*Vaṭa*) in the village and have a picnic there; sons-in-law are invited and honoured with food and presents, and hence this observance is also called *Jāmātṛ-Ṣaṣṭhī*.[1]

In the South, we hear of an *Araṇya-Gaurīvrata*. An *Araṇyadvādaśī*, marked by a feast in the forest, is also known. The Madhvas still observe a *Vana-bhojana*, feast in the woods. According to one of their *Dharmaśāstra* digests, the *Smṛtimuktāvali*[2] of Kṛṣṇācārya, the

1. See page 5–6, 40–1, *An Alphabetical List of the Feasts and Holidays of the Hindus and Muhammadans*, compiled under the direction of E. Denison Ross (Govt. of India, Calcutta, 1914).

2. Trivandrum, 1915.

Vana-bhojana is taken from the *Pāñcarātra*-sources, according to which it occurs in Kārttika Dvādaśī, immediately after Viṣṇu's rise from His slumber (*Utthāna-Ekādaśī*). Viṣṇu's image is taken to the Vṛndāvana and worshipped. Then on the fourteenth or the Paurṇamī or on the following Pañcamī, Viṣṇu's image is taken to the woods and set up under the *Dhātrī*-trees. After worship of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, the *Dhātrī*-tree is to be worshipped and then Vana-bhojana is done and prayer for progeny and other desirable things is offered. A householder may, on his own, gather the village-folk and go through this celebration.

To come back to the *Araṇyaṣaṣṭhī* day in *Jyeṣṭha*, according to the *Rājamārtāṇḍa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpa-druma*, on that day women roam about in the woods, with fans in their hands (as the season is Summer), sustain themselves on roots and fruits[1] and worship Goddess Vindhyavāsinī and Skanda-Ṣaṣṭhī, the latter especially being the guardian-deity of children. This *Vrata* is observed for obtaining progeny.

Some texts call this *Vrata* *Skanda-Ṣaṣṭhī* for this reason, but on the basis of the *Bhaviṣya*, *the Kṛtya-kalpataru* and other Digests describe Skanda-ṣaṣṭhī as a *Vrata* of *Kārttika*, observed by Kings with fast and worship of Skanda, the commander of the divine army against Asuras, for obtaining victory. In Tamil country, this Skanda-ṣaṣṭhi is a big festival for God Kumāra, in the temples as well as in homes; as the special worship of Skanda, it is observed for six days culmi-

1. Sir William Jones compared this to the Druidic ceremony of gathering the misletoe (Frazer, pp. 658–667).

nating on the Ṣaṣṭhī on which day a pageant of Skanda destroying Tāraka, Śūrapadma and other demons is gone through.[1] The Purāṇic story of Skanda's birth, his destruction of the demons and marriage with Devasenā and Vallī, and famous hymns on Skanda are expounded in public.

The Rains

With the onset of rains, a different round of engagements begin. The *Bhāvaprakāśa*'s list of Rain-time diversions start with *Śikhaṇḍi-lāsya* or the enjoyment of the dance of the peacock which gets into a hilarious mood on the sight of the gathering of the dark rumbling clouds.

Soon the freshes come in the Rivers and there is a festival called the welcome to the new flood in the river-*Navodakābhyudgama*. In Tamil country we have a charming celebration on this day, which is the 18th of the *Āṣāḍha*. Special dishes, *Citrānna* of various kinds, rice mixed with coconut, lime and boiled juice of Tamarind, with side dishes, are prepared and whole families including the children repair to a waterside or the local river and there enjoy this food, the elderly lady distributing the menu and the little ones sitting on the banks or just on the water-edge and the venturesome boys in hip-deep water, eating and making merry. We call it in Tamil 'Patineṭṭām Perukku' – the swell of the waters on the 18th. In places where there is no waterside, South Indians still prepare the special

1. For a brief account of this form of *Skanda-ṣaṣṭhī*, see *Bhaviṣya*, Uttara, Ch. 42, '*Tārakavadha-Kārttikeyapūjā-ṣaṣṭhī-vrata*.'

dishes and eat them in their rooms or balconies or terraces. In the *Pañcarātra Āgama* literature, it is described as the festival of *Gaṅgotpatti,* the flow of Ganges from the feet of Lord Viṣṇu and what we do in our houses is done also in the temples–the deity being taken out to the river or tank and the special dishes offered to Him. This tradition of *Gaṅgotpatti* seems to have been known elsewhere also; Denison Ross mentions a corresponding festival in honour of the monsoon and the freshes in the rivers; he calls it 'Daśahara' and gives the myth of it as the commemoration of the great event of Bhagīratha bringing to the terrestial regions the heavenly river Gaṅgā.[1] There is a *Melā* in Haridvar, celebrating Bhagīratha's bringing of Gaṅgā, in Jyeṣtha śukla-pakṣa from the tenth to the full-moon; it is called *Gaṅgā Dussera,* A *Gaṅgā Saptamī* is connected with sage Janhu releasing the Gaṅgā. The *Nīlamata* (679–83) associates the descent of Gaṅgā and the *Akṣaya-tṛtīyā* (Vaiśākha Śukla-tṛtīyā) and gives also a separate festival called *Vitastotsava* for the birth of river Vitastā (Jhelum) which is celebrated particularly at her confluence with Sindhu (762–6).

In ancient Tamil literature we come across a festival of the freshes in rivers called *Pudup-punal-viḷā.* The Tamil epic *Śilappadikāram* refers to it (VI.159–60) as having been inaugurated by the Cola King Korikāla on the banks of the Kāverī at the Cola Port of Kāverippūmpaṭṭinam. In Egypt, the annual rising of the Nile was, from ancient times, an occasion for great

1. *Ibid.,* pp. 15,31.

festivity.[1] This is a festival natural to all civilizations bred up along the banks of rivers.

The Kadambayuddha

The *Kadambayuddha* is an interesting rain-time sport mentioned by Vātsyāyana and Bhoja. The *Kadamba* is a tree blossoming with the advent of the rains. Couples repair to gardens and woods, arm themselves with bunches of the fresh flowers of the *Kadamba,* or other trees like *Nīpa* flowering in this season, divide themselves into two rows and parties and stage a fight.[2] The *Jayamaṅgalā* adds that in this, the Pauṇḍras use actual sticks, bricks etc. which, it is clear, is not commendable, as this is just a playful fight which lovers indulge in, and should be free from harm or injury.

The Āndolana Caturthī

The act of swinging and its solar symbolism among ancient peoples and in the Vedic *Mahāvrata* sacrifice were referred to earlier. Swinging is also an act of merriment and a natural pastime of man. The *Āndo-*

1. *Ency. Americana,* XI, p. 156.
2. Bhoja cites the following illustrative *Gāthā* (*SKĀ* , p. 578).

सखीभिः प्रियविसर्जितकदम्बरजो भरितनिर्भरोच्छ्वसितः ।
दृश्यते कदम्बस्तबक इव स्तनभरो हालिकस्नुषायाः ॥ (*chāyā*).

The *SM* adds two more *Gāthās* (p. 150):

हन्यते प्रियया दयितः कदम्बगुच्छेन मूर्च्छति देवरः ।
हन्यते दयितेन प्रिया पीडा पुनस्तस्याः सपत्नीनाम् ॥
धन्योऽसि रे हरिद्रक हालिकस्नुषापीनस्तनोत्सङ्गे ।
पश्यतः अपि पत्युः यत्तव कुसुमानि निवर्तन्ति ॥ (*chāyā*)
Gāthāsaptaśatī, Weber 863

lana-caturthī is the Swing Festival; it is mentioned also as the *Hindola-Krīḍā* in the *Jayamaṅgalā*. It falls on the third day in the bright fortnight of the *Śrāvaṇa* month. The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* calls it *Dolā-vilāsa*.[1] The temples have a regular annual Swing Festival conducted for their deities. In Rajput miniatures and *Rāga-mālā* paintings, we have the sport of the lady on the Swing adopted for the representation of the *Rāgiṇī* called *Hindola*. Enjoying the Swing is also part of the Spring festival as the *Mālavikāgnimitra* suggests.

Śrāvaṇī

The *Nīlamata* speaks of a Śrāvaṇa festival on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa month. Bath at the confluence of the Sindhu and the Vitastā, worship of Viṣṇu, feast, enjoying oneself, *listening to Sāmaveda recital*, and especially the *sports of girls in the waters* are the features of this festival (739–41).

Śarad

The advent of Autumn (*Śarad*) is the beginning of some of the biggest national festivals of ancient India.

The Navapatrikā

The *Navapatrikā*, the first of these, is quite picturesque, and shows the keen love of Nature and the particular aspects of Nature that would be most appealing and enjoyable in this part of the year. After the rains have ceased, the meadows are all grown thick

1. The illustrative Gāthā for this in the *ŚKĀ*. and *SM*. shows some difference in reading.

with emerald grass and the whole earth seems carpetted as it were. This ravishing sight evokes the rite of worshipping the new grown grass and foliage called the *Navapatrikā*. After the worship of the grasslawns, men and women eat and drink and enjoy themselves with the celebrations of mock marriages amongst themselves. Lot of fun goes on in these mock-weddings when the hand of the bride or bridegroom is asked, as all the people indulging in it are grown up married folk.

तत्र वरणविधानादौ तेषामेवंविधाः परिहासा भवन्ति यथा-
तावत्कुरुत कालहरणं त्वरमाणेऽपि वरे विवाहस्य ।
यावत्पाण्डुनखपदानि भवन्ति कुमार्या अङ्गानि ॥

(Chāyā) SKĀ, p. 578

The *SM*. (p 150) adds three more *Gāthās* of this kind, one of which is found in *Gāthā-sāptaśatī* (Weber edn. 885).

The *Śādvalakrīḍā* of Someśvara, described as a sport of the *Varṣā-ṛtu*, may be compared.

In Bengal, they have a *Navapatrikā* but instead of taking 'Nava' as 'new,' they take it as 'nine' and offer nine leaves (*patras*) to Durgā; its date also differs as it is done as part of Durgāpūjā. The nine leaves are Rambhā, Kacci, Haridrā, Jayantī, Bilva, Dāḍima, Aśoka, Mānaka, Dhānya; twigs of these are tied together with a twig of Aparājitā and offered to Devī as a preliminary to Her worship. The nine leaves have nine deities: Brahmāṇī, Kālikā, Durgā, Kārttikī, Śivā, Raktadantikā, Śokarahitā, Cāmuṇḍā and Lakṣmī.[1]

1. *JASB*. 1870, pp. 227-8.

The Bisakhādikā

The *Bisakhādikā* is the autumn-sport in the lotus-pond in which lovers bathing in lotus-ponds bite at lotus-stalks and offer them by their mouths to each other or one snatches by the mouth the lotus-stalk in the other's mouth.

गृह्णन्ति प्रियतमाः प्रियतमानां वदनाद् बिसलतार्धानि ।
हृदयानीव कुसुमायुधबाणकृतानेकरन्ध्राणि ॥

(Chāyā) SKĀ, p. 578.

The idea is the imitation of the sports of the swans which now adorn the autumnal lakes full of lotus, as described by Kālidāsa in the *Kumārasambhava* :

अर्धोपभुक्तेन बिसेन जायां सम्भावयामास रथाङ्गनामा i. III.37.

What lotus-eaters these ancient lovers were !

The Kandukakrīḍā

The *Kandukakrīḍā* is the playing with the ball made of some material which makes it jump; sometimes a string is also attached to the ball. This is considered as a fine art and is featured in love-stories, like those of Udayana's marriages in Sanskrit as well as in Tamil literature, e. g. Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*, Act II and the 12th section on Ball-playing (*Pandaḍi*) in the IVth Book *Vattava (Vatsa)* kāṇḍa, of the Tamil version of the *Bṛhatkathā*, the *Perumkathai*[1] by Koṅguvel (c. 800-900 A.D.).[1] Ṭhere are several stray verses *(Muktakas)* on the charm and attraction of young women engaged in this game.[2]

1. Edn. by Mm. Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer, Madras, 1974.
2. See e.g. the anthology *Sūktimuktāvalī*, *GOS*, pp. 243–4.

As we see it in Sanskrit literature, the play was built into an elaborate dance and the player, a lady, beat the ball alternately with the two hands, the ball bounced in different directions and she caught it as it came down. The playing involved sitting, rising and bending of the body, and movements of *Cārīs* in different tempos, slow and fast, in different degrees of force, in the beating of the ball soft and heavy, and in different styles and patterns of gait, *Cūrṇapada* or quick steps, *Maṇḍalabhramaṇa* or wheeling round, *Gomūtrikā* or wavy gait, also called the lighting movement, *Pañca-binduprasṛta, Gīta-mārga* and so on.

An elaborate and fine description of it, and the only one we have in Sanskrit, is to be had in Ch. VI of Daṇḍin's prose romance, the *Daśakumāra-carita*, where Kandukāvatī, the daughter of King Tuṅgadhanvan of the Sumhas, does the *Kanduka-nṛtya* on the *Kṛttikā* constellation of every month to propitiate Goddess Vindhyavāsinī. The display takes place in a park outside the city of Dāmalipta. Kandukāvatī displays many kinds of play, with one ball and many balls. The gloss here quotes a treatise on this ball-play, called *Kandukatantra*.

In later dance-treatises, dance with a ball is found as one of the forms of popular dance, along with dances with sword, piece of cloth, shaft, fly-whisk, garland, lute etc.

खड्ग – कन्दुक – वस्त्रादि – दण्डिका – चामर – स्रजः ।
वीणां च धृत्वा यत् कुर्युः नृत्यं तद् दैशिकं स्मृतम् ॥

–*Nāṭyasarvasva* quoted by Mallinātha
in his commentary on the *Meghadūta*.

The Tamil poem *Perumkathai* referred to above has an elaborate account of ball-playing as an integral part of the story of Udayana's marriage with the Kosala princess Mānanīkā. This episode is probably the counterpart of that of Bandhumatī alias Mañjulikā told briefly at the end of the 14th Taraṅga of Book II of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva. According to the Tamil version, by some course of events, Mānanīkā comes into Queen Vāsavadattā's retinue. There is once a display of ball-playing by the two Queens, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī, they and their retinue forming two parties. Vasantaka informs Udayana of this and the latter goes *incognito* to witness the display.

The details of the ball-playing seen here are : There was a special place where this was done. The materials of which the balls were made were cork, cotton and silk. The playing and scoring consisted of the total number of beatings of the ball by the hands; the first to beat, a maid, did 1000; Kāñcanamālā excelled her with 1500; the next 2000; the next one to come used a stick to beat and did 2500 beatings; Āryā, another maid, did a wonderful 3000. After a pause, the Kosala princess staying *incognito* as Mānanīkā under Vāsavadattā, appeared in the arena, expatiated on the 'lakṣaṇa' (technique) of ball-playing, criticised the previous players and amazed the spectators with her play, using 21 balls! She executed various gaits and movements *(Cārīs)* as she played.[1]

1. The rest of the account deals with Udayana's infatuation for Mānanīkā, Vāsavadattā trying to keep her away from him and punishing her, the revelation of her real royal status and her eventual marriage with the King.

Another form of it as practised by boys is described in the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*, Uttara Khaṇḍa, 94. 40-5. According to the description here, one throws the ball up in the sky and another catches it. He who catches then mounts on the back of the one who had first hit the ball, and in his turn strikes the ball on the ground; another catches it and mounts on the back of the previous one who had struck it and so on. If none catches it, and the ball falls on the ground, one boy picks it up as others run away and throws it at one of the boys; and the one whom the ball strikes, takes it and sends it up and the game follows as before.

The Śakra-maha or Indradhvaja festival

The greatest of the ancient Indian festivals is that of Indra's Flag-staff. It was the great national festival and came down from the Vedic times. Basing himself on the *Ṛgveda*, Meyer, in his *Trilogie*, makes an elaborate study of the Indra festival, and of Indra as the god of agriculture, and the European parallels of the Indra festival, the May Pole and the Midsummer Day. In fact it is on this festival that we have not only the largest amount of literature and references, but also adaptations of it with variations in Jainism and in the Tamil country. It is referred by various names *Śakramaha, Śakrārcā*, *Indra-maha* or *Indrotsava*, *Indradhvajotsava* and *Indra-dhvaja-ucchraya - (utthāna)*; the last complete name gives its main feature, the raising of Indra's Flag-staff.

The *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata mentions this festival as the occasion for the staging of the first drama on the story of the churning of the ocean and the gods

vanquishing the demons.[1] As I have indicated in my study of the *Vṛttis* or dramatic modes or styles,[2] it is in the festival of Indra's Flag-staff that drama had its origin. Music, dance, exhibition of physical exercises or *Vyāyāma*, sword-fights and wrestling, figured in this festival and much of this material got into drama also.[3] The four styles of action in drama called *Bhāratī*, *Sāttvatī*, *Ārabhaṭī* and *Kaiśikī* are the four styles in which four different tribes or people of the country gathered at this important festival, wielded and plied their swords in the sword-play.

The 108 *Karaṇas* or poses of *Tāṇḍava* dance are, many of them, related to the execution of physical exercises, poses of archery etc. *Nṛti* itself has one of its meanings as 'physical exercise' and the term *Raṅga* is common to both an arena and the dramatic stage.[4] Above all, the worship of Indra's Banner in the form of a bamboo-staff, at which all this happened, stuck to drama as its preliminary propitiatory rite. In dramatic parlance, this Flag-staff of Indra is called *Jarjara*, the word meaning 'an old bamboo'. It represents Indra's Flag-staff or *Vajra* and when the demons disturbed the first play, Indra put down all the disturbing forces with this *Jarjara*. The *Jarjara* is therefore the guardian of the stage (*NŚ*. I.68–75, 92). Part of the stage prelimi-

1. Of the Classical Sanskrit dramas, the *Nāgānanda* speaks of the *Indrotsava* as the occasion of its production.

2. *JOR.*, Madras, Vol. VII, pp. 41–43.

3, 4. On the close relation of sports and contests and the evolution of drama, see Ridgeway, 'The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races.'

naries called *Pūrvaraṅga* refers to the worship of and prayer to this *Jarjara.*[1]

This tradition and close relation of the Indra-festival and dance and drama are seen in Tamil literature also. The *Indiraviḷā,* as it is called in Tamil, appears in the twin Tamil epics, *Śilappatikāram* and *Maṇimekhalai.* In Tamil, the Bamboo associated with this festival is called *Talaikkōl* and is identified not with Indra but with his son Jayanta; and this staff is also symbolic of a courtezan having attained the high proficiency of her dance-art and getting the title of *Talaikkōli.*

The earliest reference to Indra and the Bamboo pole is in *Ṛv.* I.10.1 :

गायन्ति त्वा गायत्रिणोऽर्चन्त्यर्कमर्किणः ।
ब्रह्माणस्त्वा शतक्रत उद्वंशमिव येमिरे ॥

where Indra is said to be praised and raised high, like a bamboo pole.[2] The *Śatapatha* (3.2.1.32) and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇas* mention a pole or *Daṇḍa* by which the demons were kept off and prevented from obstructing the rites.[3] In the latter (*Jaim.* II.150), Brahmā is said to keep off the Asuras from Devas with a long bamboo :

अथ असुरान् दीर्घवंशेन अन्तरगृह्णात्...अथेतरान् दीर्घवंशेन अन्तर्गृह्णीयात् ।

The Sāman sung at this time is called *Udvaṁśīya* (Jaim. Brāh., edn. Lokesh Chandra, 1954, I.189, p. 78) : अथ ह वा एतेन साम्ना वंशमिवोद्यत्यासुरान् अभ्यत्यक्रामन् । यद् उद्वंशमिव उद्यत्यासुरान् अभ्यत्यक्रामन् तदुद्वंशीयमभवत् ।

1. *NŚ.* II.73–82; V.114, 115.
2. See also *JRAS. Bengal,* IV.3, 1938, P.C. Sengupta in ' When Indra became Maghavan. '
3. H. P. Sastri, ' The Origin of the Indian Drama, ' *JRAS. Bengal,* V. (1909), especially p. 361.

It is the extension of this same pole to keep off the obstructing demons that we meet with as *Jarjara* and *Indradhvaja* in the *Nāṭya Śāstra.*

The *Kauśika Sūtra*[1] (140) of the *Av.* and the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭas* (XIX) know a fully developed *Indra-maha* festival. According to them, it is to be observed by a King as part of his annual round of duties. It falls on the eighth day of the bright fortnight of *Proṣṭhapada* or *Āśvayuk*. It may be celebrated for three, five or seven days. The King, after bath and in bright dress, undertakes and performs the *Vrata* with the help of the priest. The *Mantras* to be used for the *Homa* to Indra are also given. 'Indra', that is, the pole representing Indra, is then raised *(Utthāpayanti)*. The conclusion of the festival was marked by bathing *(Avabhṛtha)* and feasting of Brahmans. The observance of the festival was for the welfare and progress of the King and the country. In the *Pariśiṣṭas*, omens like vultures and dark-coloured birds crossing the pole and also mishaps to the pole or its supporting ropes are mentioned as foreboding calamity to the Kingdom.[2]

The *Pāraskaragṛhya Sūtras*, II.15.1-10, describe an *Indra-Yajña* in which oblations were offered to Indra and Indrāṇī and a few other deities, in Proṣṭhapada. This *Indrayajña* is also evidently connected with our *Indra-maha.*

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1. *M. Bloomfield, JAOS.XIV*, pp. 298-300
2. See also J. Gonda, *JAOS*.87 (1967), pp. 413-429, 'The Indradhvaja-Festival according to the Atharvavedins.'

The two Epics, of course, know the *Śakra-dhvaja* very well. Three of the most conspicuous or spectacular aspects about Indra's Flag-staff that strike one are its decorated and attractive form, its raising and its striking appearance which catches the eyes of the onlookers, and lastly, at the end of the festival, the pole, with all its trappings, being pulled down and lying on the ground, still splendid but without any activity around it. In all these three aspects Vālmīki uses the *Indra-dhvaja* as a simile. In the same context in the *Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa,* in quick succession, Vālmīki uses it three times to describe the great Vālin, with all his pomp and the splendour of the golden garland given by Indra, his father, hit by Rāma's arrow and lying on the ground. And at the first instance, Vālmīki gives also the time of the festival as *Āśvayuk* month, full-moon night.

इन्द्रध्वज इवोद्धूतः पौर्णमास्यां महीतले ।
आश्वयुक्समये मासि गतश्रीको विचेतनः ॥ 16.36

The ropes that are fastened by a mechanism to keep the pole erect were loosened at the end of the festival and the staff came down automatically.

विचेतनो वासवसूनुराहवे विभ्रंशितेन्द्रध्वजवत् क्षितिं गतः ॥ 16.38
स भूमौ न्यस्तसर्वाङ्गस्तप्तकाञ्चनभूषणः । अपतद् देवराजस्य मुक्तरश्मिरिव ध्वजः ॥ 17.2

There are two more references, to the positive aspect of the *Dhvaja,* its decorated state and the joy produced among those around when it was raised. Sugrīva, after the angry harangue and call to duty made by Lakṣmaṇa, shakes off his indolence and jumps up with energy and decision to act. Vālmīki compares

Sugrīva in this act to the great bedecked banner-staff of Indra rising up.

उत्पपात हरिश्रेष्ठो हित्वा सौवर्णमासनम् ।
महान् महेन्द्रस्य यथा स्वलङ्कृत इव ध्वजः ॥ 34.3

Similarly, in the opening canto of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* (śl. 60), the poet describes Hanumān flying across in the skies, and compares his long tail which is in upward position to the raised *(ucchrita) Śakradhvaja.*

लाङ्गूलं च समाविद्धं प्लवमानस्य शोभते ।
अम्बरे वायुपुत्रस्य शक्रध्वज इवोच्छ्रितः ॥ V. 1.60

There are some more references of the same type to the Flag-staff of Indra, in the Rāmāyaṇa. In II. 61.7, Kausalyā, when lamenting over Daśaratha lying lifeless, compares him to the Indradhvaja:

महेन्द्रध्वजसंकाशः क्व नु शेते महाभुजः ।

When Bharata is greatly affected by the departure of Rāma to the forests, he is described as casting away his ornaments and with the garments on his body slipping, falling on the ground like the banner of Indra at the end of the festival.

संरक्तनेत्रः शिथिलाम्बरस्तथा विधूतसर्वाभरणः परंतपः ।
बभूव भूमौ पतितो नृपात्मजः **शचीपतेः केतुरिवोत्सवक्षये** ॥
II. 74.36

Again at the end of the obsequies of Daśaratha, when Bharata sees the only remains of his father, the ash and the bones, and falls down, Vīlmīki again compares the falling figure of the Prince to the *Indradhvaja* falling down. The sudden falling down of the person is compared to the swift coming down of the pole, thanks to the mechanical contrivance (*Yantra*) with which it is erected, kept up and then lowered.

स तु दृष्ट्वा रुदन् दीनः पपात धरणीतले ।
उत्थाप्यमानः शक्रस्य यन्त्रध्वज इव च्युतः ॥ II. 77.9

In the same situation and Canto (II.77.9), Bharata and Śatrughna, when they rise from the ground and from their sorrow-striken condition, are compared to two *Indradhvajas* which had been damaged for a time by rain and sun, having been in open air.

उत्थितौ च नरव्याघ्रौ प्रकाशेते यशस्विनौ ॥
वर्षातपपरिक्लिन्नौ पृथगिन्द्रध्वजाविव ॥ II. 77. 25

In Āraṇya, in the episode of the demon (3·15) Virādha, the long trident that he carried is likened to the Śakra-dhvaja (शूलं शक्रध्वजोपमम्) and in 26.13, the demon Dūṣaṇa slain by Rāma fell in front of him like the Śakra-dhvaja.

In the battle of Laṅkā, hit by Indrajit's serpent-missile, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa get shaken up and soon fall on the ground and the picture of the brothers shaking and falling down is compared by Vālmīki to the *Indra-dhvaja* whose ropes had been loosened.

ध्वजाविव महेन्द्रस्य रज्जुमुक्तौ प्रकम्पितौ । VI. 45. 17

See also Abhinanda's *Rāmacarita* (*GOS.*). When Rāma without Sītā is compared to the Indra-dhvaja post without its banner :

उपविष्टस्तदा रामो न रेजे सीतया विना ।
ध्वजो निर्वैजयन्तीको पौरन्दर इवोच्छ्रितः ॥ I. 68

The most important thing in the account of the *Indradhvaja* festival in the *Mahābhārata* is the story of its origin. In *Ādi.* 57 (critical edn.), the Great Epic narrates the history of King Uparicara Vasu. Pleased

with his penance, Indra blessed him with the fertile land of the Cedis for his Kingdom, all-round prosperity, an aerial vehicle (*Vimāna*), a golden garland (*Indramālā*) which would bring victory on the battle-field, and also a *bamboo pole* (*vaiṇavī yaṣṭi*) (17). The last is to represent Indra and to be worshipped as such on the earth (18). From the time Uparicara Vasu inaugurated the worship of that bamboo pole representing Indra, Kings continued to conduct its worship in the same way as Upavicara Vásu did it (19). The pole is to be decorated with various trappings, garlands, ornaments, and then erected (20). In the extra-lines in the text at this point, it is added that the pole is to be sixty-four feet high, is to have a pedestal twelve cubits high and wrapped in laced multi-coloured cloth and that the ceremony of raising it should be attended with *Puṇyāhavācana* and feasting of Brahmans.

There is an intriguing statement in the Epic at this juncture where it says that the blessed lord Indra is worshipped in this 'comic form' which, to please Uparicara Vasu, Indra himself took, and thereby bestowed welfare on the pople (21).

भगवान् पूज्यते चात्र हास्यरूपेण शङ्करः ।
स्वयमेव गृहीतेन वसोः प्रीत्या महात्मनः ॥

The crucial word 'Hāsya-rūpeṇa' is the reading restored in the Critical Edition by the Editor Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. The vulgate reading here is 'Hamsa-rūpeṇa' and traditonal commentators have taken Indra as having taken the form of Swan, although such a story is not known. Dr. Sukthankar's reading 'hāsya-rūpeṇa',-

'Indra in the form of this funny spectacle',[1] was criticised by reviewers of the *Ādiparvan*, and by reputed writers on the subject of Indra like Meyer, but I think a consideration of the general atmosphere of the *Indradhvaja*-festival, which has, of course, no reference to a *Hamsa* anywhere, would support Sukthankar's restoration. The representation of the great Indra, King of heavens, in a bamboo pole, as Sukthankar said, is sufficiently a descent into the comic; but that is not all; the manifold trappings round the post, and the free merriment that went on during the festival which was not free from lower forms of indulgence, would justify this description of Indra being present in this function in the form of *Hāsya* or mirth, laughter and comic.

In some more extra-lines given in the footnote here, mention is made of other details of the worship; the worship of *Yakṣas* and gods; various gifts to supplicants; bath, festive dress and play; homage to the King; merry story-telling; all-round rejoicings of the citizens along with minstrels and dancers singing and dancing; and the King and his harem enjoying the whole celebration in great joy.

Indra was pleased with this *Pūjā* by Uparicara Vasu and blessed that the Kings who observed this *Indramaha* and worshipped him thus, would enjoy prosperous Kingdoms (22-27). It is repeatedly stated that the object of this festival is the increase in agricultural produce, the crops being free from pests, victory in

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1. 'Epic Questions,' 'No. 1, 'Does Indra Assume the Form of a Swan?' *Bull. Dec. Coll. Res. Inst.*, I.i. Dec. 1939, pp. 1-7.

wars, the prosperity of the realm and the joy of the people.

We may now note references to the *Indra-dhvaja*-festival in a cross-section of Sanskrit literature, technical as well as general. These not only confirm generally the wide vogue of the festival but also furnish some interesting features of it. Under *Pāṇini* V.1.12, *Vārttikas* 1 and 2, we have in Patañjali the expressions 'Indramahārtham Aindramahikam.' Aśvaghosa, in his *Buddhacarita* (1.58), compares the desire to look up at the King to the eagerness of people to look up at the *Śakradhvaja* which has been raised.

दिदृक्षया शाक्यकुलध्वजस्य शक्रध्वजस्येव समुच्छ्रितस्य ।

In the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, IV. 3, we meet with the high *Indradhvaja* being raised and the people looking up at it with joy and devotion as a comparison for the people looking up on the newly installed King Raghu.

पुरुहूतध्वजस्येव तस्योन्नयनपङ्क्तयः ।
नवाभ्युत्थानदर्शिन्यो ननन्दुः सप्रजाः प्रजाः ॥

In the play *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka, we have an intriguing reference to the *Indramaha-kāmuka* and the intermittent noise of 'Kā,' 'kā,' which he or it was making. It occurs in V.11–12, in the dialogue between the *Vidūṣaka* and the *Ceṭa*. The commentator Pṛthvīdhara takes the *Indramaha-kāmuka* as meaning a crow, a meaning which would receive support from the sounds 'Kā,' 'kā' that it is said to make. The lexicons *Trikāṇḍaśesa*, *Vaijayantī* (III.4.69), *Pāialacchī* (V.41), and *Deśīnāmamālā* (I.82) take it to mean a dog (*śvā*). It is not easy to dismiss Pṛthvīdhara's

identification of the *Indramaha-Kāmuka* as fanciful as it has a solid basis in the context and the words 'Kā-Kā,' which cannot be associated with a dog. On the other hand, the Sanskrit, Prakrit and Deśī lexicons which unanimously take it as 'dog' cannot also be ignored. The other connected problem is whether this merely refers to actual crows or dogs swarming or prowling about at a populous festival of this kind, or to any theme of panatomime or play which is a feature of the festival; such shows were germane to this festival. Does *Indramaha-kāmuka* mean merely one (crow or dog) '*fond* of the Indra festival' or does it mean a character, like the *Viṭa*, indulging in amorous pursuits (*Kāmuka*), who was also most probably a common figure in this festival? Indra himself is associated with the affair with Ahalyā and his son Jayanta as a crow meddled with Sītā; and these themes might have been used for dramatic diversions at the festival which, as we have already noted, was the seed-bed of drama.

In the Mandasor Inscription of Naravarman (A. D. 405–6) verses 2–5 describe the Rains and Autumn and say that the king announced the *Śakra-maha*, as soon as the Rains set on (Epi. Ind. p. 320):

प्रावृट्काले शुभे प्राप्ते मनस्तुष्टिकरे नृणाम् । महे प्रवृत्ते शक्रस्य etc.

In Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Tantravārttika* (I. iii. p. 130, Ben. Skt. Ser. 1903) the *Śakradhvaja* is included in a list of Deśācāras and popular celebrations, in connection with the discussion of the authoritativeness of such celebrations.

— मातृयज्ञादयस्तथा ।
शक्रध्वजमहो यात्रा देवतायतनेषु च ॥

The *Avantisundarī* of Daṇḍin (*TSS* 172, 1954) speaks of the *Indradhjotsava* (p. 156). The *Indradhvaja* bamboo post (*Veṇuyaṣṭi*) is given here a height of only thirty-two inches (dvātrimśadaṅgulāyāma-pramāṇam); its top is not to be cut and it should carry some leaves; it has to bear Indra's banner and Indra and the gods are to be invoked in the pole. The ceremonies include oblation in fire, with the thirteen Indra-mantras (aindraiḥ trayodaśabhir mantraiḥ) and worship in all the local temples. The royal couple who enjoyed the Indra festival wished in their hearts that they should have a son comparable to Indra.

In *the Kathāsaritsāgara* (I. iv. 3), it is at the *Indrotsava* that Vararuci sees Upakośā, his wife-to-be. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (VIII. 170) says that king Uccala (1101-11 A. D.) held combats on special days like the festival of Indra and gave presents to the combatants.

Bhoja in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* has the Śakrārcā among the love-festivals; and the Prakrit gāthā here illustrating this festival refers to Indra at this festival, represented by a wooden post, as really a piece of dead wood, as he does not sprout forth even when touched by the lotus-like arms of the daughter of the farmer.

सत्यमेव काष्ठमयः सुरनाथो येन हालिकदुहित्रा ।
हस्तैः कमलदलकोमलैः स्पृष्टो न पल्लवितः ॥ (*Chāyā*)

This shows the celebration of this festival in villages and the happy time young people spent around the *Indra-dhvaja*.

In Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā* (I.81), a verse on the *Indramaha* is given as quoted by Avantisundarī, evidently the one well-known as Rājaśekhara's wife.

इंद्रमहं **कौमार**मित्यबन्तिसुन्दरी, यदुदारति स्म
उपहसति इन्द्राणीमिन्द्रः इन्दीवराक्षि इदानीम् ।
इन्द्रमहप्रेक्षिते तव मुखस्य शोभां पश्यन् ॥ (Chāyā)

In this connection Avantisundari is said to call the *Indramaha*, *Kaumāra.* On this name further light is needed. The illustrative verse itself does not offer any such light but it just refers to the gathering at the festival of gay lovers in amorous conversation. A lover tells his beloved that on seeing her beauty at that festival, Indra looks down upon the beauty of Indrāṇī herself.

The Indra-festival is described at length in some of the Purāṇas, the *Skānda*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the *Kālikā*, the *Devī* and very briefly the *Agni.* These Purāṇic accounts are also extracted in some of the *Smṛti*-digests. The *Skānda* has a five-days Indra-festival, which although to begin with appears to be unrelated to the *Indradhvaja*-festival we are dealing with, is later brought into relation with it. In the *Nāgarakhaṇḍa* (Venk. edn.) Chs. 206-7, the *Skānda* narrates the greatness of a sacred place called *Bālamaṇḍana Tīrtha* in the *Hāṭaka-kṣetra*-area where a group of Brahmans of eight families *(Aṣṭakulas)* had settled over twelve villages. They had, by lapses in behaviour, become a harsh, hard-hearted people and to improve them, Indra promised to come down and abide with them for five days in a year. These Brahmans then began celebrating a festival

for Indra there, in the Māgha month, bright fortnight, thirteenth day.

In this connection the story of Indra, his misbehaviour with Ahalyā, and sage Gautama's curse on him is related. Gautama also cursed that if Indra dared to appear on the earth for receiving any *Pūjā*, he would go to pieces. Indra had to live in shame and hiding and at Brahmā's request, Gautama withdrew his curses on Indra, restored to the latter his normal appearance, and to rehabilitate him, allowed a five-days festival on earth in his honour. This Indra-festival gave the people freedom from disease and bestowed on them prosperity and well-being.

The time of the festival is given as *Śarad*, beginning with the day of the *Śravaṇa* star and going on for four days (66). In verse 69, the setting up of a Post (*Yaṣṭi-sthāpana*) with *Indra-Mantras* is mentioned. Gautama says that in view of his acts, Indra should not be represented by his image but only by a Post.

परं मूर्तिर्न ते पूज्या कुत्रापि च भविष्यति ।
त्वया मे दूषिता भार्या × × ×
तस्माद् वृक्षोद्भवां यष्टि × × स्थापयिष्यन्ति शक्तितः ॥ 207.68–9.

The fruit of the festival is said to be to absolve oneself of the sin of adultery.

परदारकृतं पापं तस्य सर्वं विनश्यति । 207.75.

Four chapters (154–7) of *Khaṇḍa* II of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* are devoted to the *Śakradhvaja* festival. The time of the festival is given as *Bhādrapada*. The origin of the festival is also given here: When the Devas defeated by the Asuras approached Viṣṇu for help, Viṣṇu gave them a

Flag-staff whose very sight would drive away the Asuras. Having achieved success with its help, Indra gave it to Vasu and the latter worshipped it according to the directions of Garga.[1] As in the account of the *Mahābhārata*, here also Indra pronounces the blessing that all Kings who worshipped his Banner in that manner will attain all round prosperity and their Kingdoms will be free from famine, disease and fear from enemy.

The King should make an abode for Indra on the east of his cantonment. There the *Indradhvaja* should be set up at the centre; on its right should be a picture of Indra on a piece of cloth (*paṭe*) and on the left, one of Sacī, his consort. Their worship should start in *Proṣṭhapada* month with the first day of the bright fortnignt. The *Purāṇa* then describes the King sending people to the forest to bring the *Śakra-yaṣṭi* which may be brought by an ox-drawn cart or by men themselves. Several kinds of trees are mentioned and it is said that if any of them is not available, a bamboo is to be brought. अलाभे सर्वकाष्ठानां यष्टिं कुर्वीत वैणवीम् । (155.7). The measurements for the *Śakra-yaṣṭi* are not directly given but it is said that the piece of wood or bamboo should be cut by four inches on the top and eight at bottom[2]; it is then thrown into water and then brought into the city. Its entry into the city is itself a festive

1. This shows that the *Viṣṇudharmottara* text is later than the *Garga-samhitā*, from which, like the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, it also derives its description of the festival.
2. See *Bṛhatsamhitā* 43.21. The source of both is evidently the *Gargasamhitā*.

act, with the streets cleaned and decorated and the procession accompanied by musicians and dancers. The King, along with the citizens, receives it with all honours, on the eighth of the bright fortnight. Till the twelfth, it lies with its top to the east, covered with cloth and in worship. On the eleventh, the King fasts and along with his astrologer, priest and minister, keeps awake, the citizens also doing likewise. What the *Purāṇa* then says may be noted : At different places there, spectacles and shows are to be shown and drinks served; and during the night, Indra is to be propitiated with dance and music.

स्थाने स्थाने महाभाग देया प्रेक्षा तथा मधु ।
पूजयेन्नृत्तगीतेन रात्रौ शक्रं नराधिप ॥ (17)

On the twelfth, after ablutions, the King should raise the *Indradhvaja* with the aid of the mechanism set-up there.

यन्त्रेणोत्थापनं कुर्यात् शक्रकेतोः ।

The Pole is to be within an enclosure of a quadrangle mechanically set-up with four pillars. Here daily worship is to be done to the Pole and the drawings of Indra and Śacī on the cloth; various offerings, feastings of Brahmans, *Homas* with *Mantras* of Indra and Viṣṇu[1], music and dance are to be done. On the twelfth day, the King should give cash presents to his priest and astrologer, as also to other Brahmans. When bringing into the city and also when erecting it, the King should offer to the Pole, along with *Mantras*, various ornaments, clothes, garlands and an umbrella. The

1. See *Bṛhatsamhitā* 43.30.

festivities go on for four days and on the fifth day, the *Indradhvaja* is to be brought down and abandoned. The final worship is to be given to the Pole and with his four-fold army and music, the King should take the three (evidently the Pole and the two pieces of cloth with pictures of Indra and Śacī) and throw them into the water. The people jump into the water and indulge in water-sports and on the banks also, they engage themselves in games. The performance of this festival brings victory and prosperity to the King and the people.

During the festival, if the top of the pole or the main part of the pole itself breaks, the King's fate is doomed. When the mechanism gives way or the ropes snap, or the *Mātṛkā*-s (images of the goddesses)[1] break, attack from enemies is certain. If there are bad atmospheric omens, calamities will occur. If carnivorous birds rest on the Pole, there is fatal danger to the King or subjects. Similar trouble is also in store if any part of the whole set-up of the *Indra-dhvaja* fails. Expiations have to be done for these and a golden flag-staff has to be set up for Indra, the Kingdom should be offered to the Guru and all the prisoners released. After this seven-days expiatory worship, this golden replica of *Indra-dhvaja* is to be given away to the Guru and other gifts to other Brahmans.

The last chapter of this account of the *Indra-dhvaja* gives the *Indra-mantras* to be offered during this worship; what is given is a long *Stotra*, hymn, of Indra,

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1. See below under the *Bṛhatsamhitā*; the *Kālikāpurāṇa* mentions the *Śakrā-kumārīs* as *Śakrā-Mā.ṛkās*.

as embodiment of all Gods, in which some Ṛgvedic lines on Indra are also echoed.[1]

There is an equally detailed description of *Śakrotthāna-Dhvajotsava* in ch. 90 of the *Kālikāpurāṇa*[2]. The festival is to be performed by the King for removal of obstacles and warding off fear from enemies. The account refers to Uparicara Vasu as its promulgator. The time is given as Śrāvaṇa Dvādaśī in the season of Rains. On this twelfth day of the bright fortnight, the carpenter and astrologer go to the forest to cut the tree for the Flag. After auspicious rites they search for a suitable tree, avoiding gardens, temples, roads and crematoria and trees with thorns, bored by birds, broken by wind, stunted and overgrown with creepers. Trees deemed best for the Pole are named.[3] Next day the Pole is cut, brought into the city and made into the Flag-staff. The actual setting up of the Pole on a pedestal (*Vedī*) is done only in *Bhādrapada Śukla Aṣṭamī*. The measurements are twenty-two or thirty-two or fifty-two cubits. The Pole is to be in *Adhivāsa* on *Ekādaśī*, The *Maṇḍala* is to be drawn on *Dvādaśī* and after this, Viṣṇu and Indra are to be worshipped. An image of Indra in gold, wood or mud is to be made[4] and then at an auspicious time, the Post with the Banner is raised (*Ketu-Utthāpana*) by the King with prayers to Indra

1. See *Bṛhatsamhitā* 43.52–5.
2. See *JOR*., Madras, XII.1939, my analysis of this *Purāṇa*, pp. 359–60.
3. All this is evidently derived from the *Bṛhatsamhitā*.
4. This is against the *Skānda* where an actual image of Indra is prohibited and only the representation through the Pole is permitted.

as *Vajradhara*. It is said that all this is set forth in the text called *Uttaratantra*. Various offerings are also made.

The Pole is fastened by five ropes and a *Yantra*. It is hung over with all kinds of things, coloured trappings, small bells and one big bell, fly-whisks, mirrors, garlands and precious stones.[1] There are also to be images of *Śacī*, *Mātali* (Indra's Charioteer), *Jayanta* (his son), *Vajra* (his thunderbolt), *Airāvata* (his white elephant), planets, the guardians of the quarters etc. all of whom are also to be worshipped. The *Śakra-kumārīs* mentioned by Varāhamihira are called here *Śakra-Mātṛkās*. The worship comprises *Homa*, *Pūjā*, *Naivedya*, *Balidāna* and *Brāhmaṇa-bhojana*. The worship and festival continue for seven days and nights. Among the *Mantras* and prayers mentioned are verses which echo the Ṛk ' Trātaram Indram, avitarām Indram' (Rv. VI.47.11). The pulling down and throwing away of the Pole are to be done on *Dvādaśī* in the constellation *Bharaṇī*, in the night. The *Purāṇa* mentions, it may be noted, that the King himself should not see the *Visarjana*.

The above prohibition of the King from seeing the *Visarjana* of the *Indradhvaja* reminds us of a reference in *Mṛccha-kaṭika*, X.7. That verse mentions four things that must not be seen and the first of these is इन्द्रः प्रवाह्यमानः; this ' Indra being borne away ' can only refer to the Indra-Pole being carried away for being cast into the water. All the accounts of the final ceremony of this festival imply that the King and the people witness and participate in this last act. It is only

1. See *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, 43.7, 57–8.

in the *Kālikā* and in the intriguing reference in *Mṛcch.* X.7 that we have an interdiction against seeing it.

The Pole is finally to be immersed in deep water. As a result of the festival, the land will be free of disease and famine and become full of prosperity.

The very recently published *Devī Purāṇa*[1], like the *Kālikā*, has two chapters (11, 12) giving a detailed description of Indradhvaja festival. This text is earlier than the *Nibandha Kṛtya-kalpataru* (A. D. 1104–54) which extracts in its *Rājadharma kāṇḍa* the description of the festival of Indradhvaja from the 12th chapter of this Purāṇa. Chapter 11 narrates the battle between the Devas and the Asuras and Viṣṇu asking Śiva to give the Devas a Banner (*Ketu*) which would destroy the Asuras. (*daitya-nibarhaṇam*). The *Ketu* is described as adorned with bell, fly-whisk, diverse kinds of *Piṭakas*, and having drawings of gods and their *Vāhanas* (26–7). Viṣṇu defeated the Asuras with this *Ketu* and then presented it to Indra. A new idea mentioned here (52–3) is that the *Ketu* has also *symbols of Śiva.* From that time onwards, all Kings who hoist the Indra-Banner become victorious (55–6). Chapter 12 describes the raising-*Utthāpana* of the *Ketu*, the astrologer and the architect going to forest on an auspicious day, avoidance of certain kinds of trees, choice of the tree, its worhip in the night and cutting it on the morning and bringing it into the city through festive streets, accompanied by chief men, soldiers etc., and with music and Vedic chants. No mishap should happen to it on the way.

1. Edited by Dr. Pushpendra Kumar Sharma, L. B. Shastri Kendriya Sanskrita Vidyapitha, Delhi, 1976.

The post is to be wrapped in cloth painted over with designs (28). Nandā, Upanandā, Kumārīs, Jayā and Vijayā are to be set at its sixteen points. The mother of Indra (Śakrajananī) is also to be set up. Then the heights and intervals at which the *Piṭakas* should be hung on the Post are specified. Girdles (*Raśanāḥ*) of Svayambhū in many colours, of Viśvakarman in red and square, of Indra in blue and red and octagonal, of Yama circular, of Varuṇa hexagonal, and several others like the above for different gods are to be tied to the Post. The Pole is to be raised with *Mantras* and *Homa* is to be performed. Plaintain and Sugarcane stumps and flags are to be tied to the Pole. The date is given as *Proṣṭhapada Śukla Aṣṭamī* or the *Śravaṇa-nakṣatra* in *Āśvina Śukla.*

The Pole is held in position by a *Yantra* or mechanical contrivance. Music, keeping awake all the night, and citizens enjoying themselves through the duration of the festival are mentioned. Crossing of the post by crows, owls and doves, as also mishaps to any part of the Pole, have to be prevented. The worship of the Pole is for the success of the King and the welfare of the people.

The description of the worship of *Śakradhvaja* in the *Agnipurāṇa* is very brief (ASS. Ch. 268, Śls 3 ff.). It is said to begin with the first day of the bright fortnight or *Proṣṭhapada*. The place for Indra is to be set up to the east of the military cantonment. The Pole is to be set up on the eighth day and flag hoisted on the twelfth day. The figure of Indra is to be drawn

on a piece of cloth (*Pata*) and he should be worshipped along with his wife Śacī. Prayers are addressed to Indra for success and agricultural and other kinds of prosperity for the kingdom.

In Nepal, there are two festivals one of which has some similarity with the Indra-dhvaja festival and the other identical with the Indra-dhvaja, although showing some differences in details.[1] The first one is popularly called Bisket Jātrā, celebrating the new year of the Vikrama era in Vaiśākha. It is confined to Bhaktapur town. It consists of two parts, the first is the cutting of a *Sāl* tree and erecting a *Liṅga* of the Pole, about 40–50 feet high. There is a ritual of selecting the tree in the forest. The Pole is set up in front of the temple of *Indrāṇī*. The next day, the Pole is pulled down. The second part of the Bisket Jātrā consists of a *Devī Ratha Jātrā*.

The second festival is actually called *Indra-dhvaja* and is a national festival. It starts on the twelfth of the bright half of *Bhādrapada* and lasts for eight days. The Pole is called *Liṅga* here also. The erection of the Pole is called *Indradhvajotthāna*. The Manandhar caste people go to the forest a year in advance and select and cut a *Sāl* tree. The Pole is adorned with flags, flowers etc. and erected by the priest on the arrival of the King and his soldiers and dancers. After the raising of the Pole, a small cage with an idol of Indra is set

1. See the Newars: 'An Ethno-Sociological Study of a Himalayan Community,' by Dr. Gopal Singh Nepali, United Asia Publishers, Bombay-1, 1965, pp. 344–5; 358 ff.

at the foot of the Pole. Revelry then starts and people dance wearing masks of gods, demons and Bhairava. There is also a buffalo-fight. On the concluding day the priest brings down the Pole (*Linga*) with the help of props and ropes and it is made to rest on the ground. People pay their respects to the Pole and then it is carried to Viṣṇumatī river.

The *Smṛti Nibandhas*, which derive their material mostly from the *Purāṇas*, may now be noticed. The early *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara (*GOS*. 100.1943) gives the *Indradhvajocchrāyavidhi* in its XIth book on *Rājadharma*, section 17. The account is based on the *Devīpurāṇa*, which we have noticed above. We may take along with this account the one in Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (Pt. II, *Vraakhaṇḍa*, pt. 2; *Bib. Ind.* pp. 401–9) where also the same *Devīpurāṇa* is extracted; and the extract there is longer.[1] The chief difference in the *Devīpurāṇa* account as seen in these two Digests is that the *Dhvaja* was first given by Śiva to Viṣṇu (केतुना शम्भुदत्तेन) (*Devī* XI.247) and this is stated both at the beginning and the end. Viṣṇu got it from Śiva, Brahmā from Viṣṇu, Indra from Brahmā and from Indra it came to the Kings.

एवं पूर्वं हरिः केतुं प्राप्तवान् वृषवाहनात् ।
ततो ब्रह्माय तेनैव ब्रह्मणः शक्रमागतः ।
तदाप्रभृति कुर्वन्ति नृपा अद्यापि चोच्छ्रयम् ।।

(Quoted from *Devīpurāṇa*, ch. XII, end).

The account starts with the astrologer and the carpenter going into the forest. The length of the Post cut from

1. The account is given by Agastya to King Nṛpavāhana who wants to know how his ancestors got the *Dhvaja*.

the tree is to be 11 or 9 or 5 cubits. The other details about its cutting, the auspicious time for the various acts beginning with the entry of the Post into City are all given as in other texts. Regarding the *Śakra-Kumārīs* we may note some points: In addition to Nandā-Upanandā, Jayā-Vijayā, and Śakra-Jananī, Jayanta is also given and on the top of the *Dhvaja*, *Dattā* and *Upadattā* are said to be set. The Post is to be marked off into three sections *(Paridhis)* and the ornamentations are to be added in three sets in these three sections. Hemādri offers explanations on obscure words. *Piṭaka*, he interprets as *Vibhūṣaṇa*, ornamentation. In the expression 'Dṛḍha-mātṛkā-daṇḍa', he explains Mātṛkā-daṇḍa as 'Toraṇa-stambha', In addition to the *Devīpurāṇa*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara,* already noticed by us, is extracted by Hemādri.

The *Varṣakriyākaumudī* of Govindānanda (*Bib. Ind.* 1902, pp. 322–3) has a short description of the festival which gives no new detail. The only point we may note is that, according to it, if a King fails to observe the festival in any year, he should do it only after twelve years. The *Kṛtyaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara (*ASB* 1925, pp. 292–3) refers to Indra 'made' of sugar-cane etc. Jīmūtavāhana has a noteworthy point in his *Kālaviveka* (*Bib. Ind.* 1905, p. 294) that at the time of the throwing away of the dismantled *Dhvaja*, the King should not see it, शक्रं प्रवासयेद् देवं यथा राजा न पश्यति, – a detail which, as we noted above, only two other sources mention, the play *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Kālikāpurāṇa.*

We may now notice two important technical treatises which contain very detailed treatment of the *Indra-*

dhvaja-festival, the *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira and the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* of King Bhoja.

The encyclopaedic *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira devotes its 42nd (43rd in some edns.) chapter to the *Indradhvaja*-festival. On the origin of the festival, we have here the same story of the Devas seeking Viṣṇu's help for victory over Asuras, Viṣṇu giving Indra a *Dhvaja* (5) born of His own power and installed on a resplendent chariot of eight wheels (6). This Flag of Indra was bedecked with bells, garlands, and *Piṭakas*. *Piṭakas* are mentioned elsewhere also and mean evidently boxes or cases filled with various things and intended for ornamentation (7). Bhaṭṭotpala interprets *Piṭakas* as ornaments (पिटकानि विभूषणानि) and so does Hemādri in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi.* This flag in the form of a Bamboo, Indra gave to Uparicara Vasu, King of the Cedis, who worshipped the Bamboo *(Yaṣṭi)* and thereby pleased Indra. According to the blessings of Indra, Kings who performed the worship of his Flag-staff will be victorious and their subjects free from fear and disease (9, 10). Varāhamihira then describes the astrologer and the carpenter proceeding to the forest at an auspicious time to cut a Post from a suitable tree. Places wherefrom trees should not be cut and trees which should be cut, as we noted above in the Purāṇic account, are mentioned. The tree to be chosen should be one grown on white or dark soil and the astrologer should approach it in the night and pray to it that they require it for the King's welfare, and they may be allowed to cut it (16, 17, 18). The actual cutting should be done at dawn and there should be no untoward portents at

the cutting. On top, four inches should be chopped off and eight at bottom, the post then cast into water and then taken out and brought to the city by cart or men without any mishap *en route*. The ceremonial and festive entry into the city of the Post wrapped in new cloth, and its reception by the King, his retinue and the citizens is to be on *Bhādrapada Śukla Aṣṭamī* (23, 24). The city thoroughfares and bazaars are now full of buntings, jubilation, music, dance and also Vedic recitations (25, 26). The carpenter then chisels the wood and prepares the Flag-staff and fits in a *Yantra* (29). The King fasts on the *Ekādaśī* and the priest offers Homa with *Mantras* of Indra and Viṣṇu. The raising of the Post is on *Dvādaśī*, in the *Śravaṇa* or some other star (38).

Seven or five 'daughters of Indra' (*Śakra-Kumārīs*) are to be set up in shorter posts of varying heights round the high 'Pole' of Indra. They are Nandā, Upanandā, Jayā, Vijayā, two Vasundharās and the seventh, the Mother of Indra (39, 40). We may recall here the name *Kaumāra* by which Avantisundarī referred to this festival. It may be suggested that the name *Kaumāra* is after these Śakra-Kumārīs. The Flag-staff should be given the *Piṭakas*; they are the replicas of what were presented by the different Gods to the original Flag-staff of Indra himself. Varāhamihira then gives thirteen of these trappings, a square girdle, another multi-coloured girdle, an octagonal one in dark and red colour, a hexagonal thing, a wavy thing, etc. each resembling some kind of human orna-

ment (41–9).[1] These ornaments are to be given to the Post on the fourth day (51). Then four verses are given as prayers to Indra and referred to as *Mantras* (52–5). Verse 57 gives a list of the ornamental hangings of the Post: umbrella, flag, mirror, plough-share, crescent-moon, various kinds of garlands, plantain-stumps, sugar-cane, wild animals including lions, wicker-baskets (?) with holes and figures of the guardians of the quarters. With its ropes well fastened at the eight cardinal points, its supporting woodwork on the sides at the base strong (*dṛḍhakāṣṭhamātṛkam*)[2], the mechanism, the bolt, feet and arches well fitted (*suśliṣṭa-yantrārgala-pāda-toraṇam*), this symbol of Indra should be raised aloft, without the smaller Śakra-Kumārī-posts around being damaged during the raising (*abhagna-Kumārikānvitam*) (57, 58). When the Pole goes up, there should be the ovation of the people, benedictions, salutations, sounds of drums and conchs and Vedic recitations. The citizens stand round with offerings and prayers. The going up of the Pole should be neither too fast nor too slow, without shaking or disturbance to the hangings and without any accident (61). In five verses (62–6), Varāhamihira speaks of the untoward results that will be caused by various inauspicious hap-

1. The eleventh of these is called *Udvaṁśa*, presented by Viśve-devas and resembling a lotus. The word which reminds us of the Ṛk '*Udvaṁśamiva* yemire' is obscure; Bhaṭṭotpala does not offer any special gloss on it and says simply that *Udvaṁśa* is the name (*saṁjñā*) of this lotus-like ornament.
2. Mātṛkā here is difficult to interpret. Bhaṭṭotpala says:

इन्द्रध्वजनिष्पीडनार्थं पार्श्वद्वये मातृकाद्वितयं कार्यम् × × ×

मातृकाः पार्श्वस्थितानि निरन्तराणि काष्ठानि × × × ।

penings like carnivorous birds resting on the Pole or the breaking of any part of the whole Pole and its machinery.

The festival is to be carried on for four days and concluded on the fifth day. The King should, along with the people, cast away the Post at the conclusion.

It should be noted that in keeping with the general character of his work, Varāhamihira specially expatiates in his account of the festival on the evil-portents attending mistakes and accidents likely at each step from the first bringing of the Post to the its final casting away.

In his commentary on this section, Utpala quotes Garga often. Garga, who is quoted by Varāhamihira, is also mentioned, as noted above, in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*-account of the festival. It is therefore clear that the *Gargasaṁhitā* has a detailed description of this festival and Varāhamihira evidently derives his account from Garga. Also from Aparārka on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* I. 147, we learn that Garga had dealt with *Śakrocchrāya.* Yājñavalkya includes (in I. 147) the day of the raising of the *Indradhvaja* and the day of its dismantling as *Anadhyāya,* holidays for students and teachers, which again shows the national character of this festival. When explaining this, Aparārka (ĀSS. 46, p. 190) quotes two verses from Garga, one on the date of the raising of the *Śakradhvaja* as *Proṣṭhapada Śukla Dvādaśī*, *Śravaṇa Uttarāṣāḍhā* or *Dhaniṣṭhā* and that of the pulling down as *Bharaṇī.* Bhaṭṭotpala's quotations of Garga are under verses 7, 14, 23–4, 38, 40, 58, 61, 66; and they speak

of Indra's victory over Asuras with the aid of the Dhvaja, Proṣṭhapada Pratipad as the day for going to the forest for cutting the tree, eighth of the bright fortnight of that month and Jyeṣṭhā star as being auspicious for bringing the Post into the City, Dvādaśī and Śravaṇa or other stars for raising the Post, the Śakra-Kumārīs as made of wood and intended for the decoration of the *Dhvaja*, the length of the Post as 18 or 8 cubits and breadth as 12 inches, the ropes for holding the Post erect being eight at the eight cardinal points, auspicious and inauspicious portents at the time of raising it and the happy way in which people play and enjoy themselves around the Post.

Besides, in this chapter, Varāhamihira cites Manu twice (39, 51) but it is not clear which text ascribed to Manu deals with the *Indradhvāja* or its details like the *Śakra-Kumārīs*.

The most elaborate account of the *Indradhvaja*-festival is to be had in Ch. 17 of Bhoja's *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* (*GOS.* XXV, Vol. I, 1924, pp. 70–86). Bhoja starts with the legendary background to emphasise the importance of the festival. It is to be noted that Bhoja does not bring in Viṣṇu into the story. Brahmā told Vācaspati, the teacher of Devas, that for obtaining victory over the Asuras, the Devas might prepare a Flag-staff with gems and replicas of all kinds of birds and set on a *Yantra* and charge it with *Abhicāra-mantras*; and then take it in the forefront of their army proceeding against the Asuras. Brahmā gave also a second Standard with hundred spokes, together with a post

which would augment their strength. With all these Indra would be victorious over the Asuras. On seeing this *Dhvaja,* all the other Devas added to it their own ornamentations. This became Indra's *Vajra* and he worshipped it and with its aid, vanquished the demons in three nights. Indra made also a pronouncement that Kings on earth would worship it and gain victories. This is the tradition on the *Indradhvaja*-festival, according to Bhoja.

In the previous chapter (16th), Bhoja describes the going to the forest, choosing the proper tree, and cutting and bringing it to the city. All the mechanical contrivances required for it are to be made by the architect-carpenter. The highest post is to be 32 cubits, the next 28, and the shortest24. Measurements for its thickness are then given from which it appears that the post was broad at base and less and less in thickness at every cubit (24). At the foot is also to be fitted to it a contrivance-pedestal to rotate it *(Bhrama-pīṭha)* and this pedestal is to be done one fourth of the height of the Flag-staff (26). There is to be a small shrine to Indra at this pedestal, and along with Indra, Indra's Mother and the *Śakra-Kanyās* are also to be set up. Indra's Mother should be bigger in height than the *Śakra-Kumārīs* (34) who are all to be of equal measurement (41). Bhoja mentions, in addition to the above, that 'Malla' is to be set up.

मल्लश्च पीठिकाङ्घ्री च बाहू स्तम्भविनिर्गतौ ।
शक्रमाता कुमार्यश्च — ॥

This 'Malla' is mentioned also in verses 29, 51, 52, 55, 56 but what this 'Malla' means is not clear. Bhoja's

whole description is full of details of measurements, parts and especially of the mechanical arrangement at the base, and uses some obscure terms.

The beginning of the Festival is then given as on *Āśvina Śukla Pratipat*. The Post is to be tied all over with coloured sacred threads *(pratisara)*, smeared with ghee, powders, herbs and bathed in water. It is then to be wrapped in new cloth and flower-garlands and worshipped with *Svastivācana*. This process (*Adhivāsana*) is to go on for five days. The *Yantras* and the Deities are then set up at their proper places. The architect or the *Purohita* then raises the Flag-staff with auspicious music and *Mantras*; the citizens, who are joyous and well-dressed, assist by joining their hands in the act of lifting the Post (70). Minstrels sing praise and courtezans pay homage. The King attends the function with his courtiers. The happy erection of Indra's Banner assures the prosperity of the Kingdom. Unpleasantness or mishaps on the occasion will cause unhappiness. Worse calamities will occur if the Flag falls or the Post breaks.

More things to be added to the Flag-staff are then mentioned: eight *Piṭakas* or ornamentations,-*Aindra*, *Balākā*, *Yakṣeśa*, *Sarpanāda* (?), *Digāhvaya* (?), *Mayūra*, and *Indraśīrṣa*. The name of the eighth is missing. The eight ropes at the eight quarters, crops, fruits, flowers, cloth and an umbrella on the top are also mentioned. The banner-cloth is to contain drawings of all gods and diverse things of the world (*nikhilaṁ jagad ālekhyam* 102).

People keep awake all night with merry-making and music and dance. In the morning the priest or the architect should perform *Homa* and *Bali* with Brahman Vedic scholars, for the appeasement of evil and promotion of good for the King. With *maṇḍalas* drawn below, the Brahmans should recite *Svasti-vācana-mantras* and bathe Indra with eight pots of sanctified water poured at the base. The King should then announce the Festival to the City and order the release of prisoners and stop all punishments (134). He should remain pure and austere and protect the *Indradhvaja* with his army-men. The architect is said to utter a Mantra to a female Deity called *Vāgulā*

ओं नमो भगवति वागुले सर्वविघ्नमर्दिनि स्वाहा । 236/237

and then pray to the *Dhvaja* for the King's success. The constellation for this formal inauguration is *Śravaṇa.*

Different kinds of slips or mishaps to the hoisting of the Flag as foreboding different misfortunes to the King and the realm are then mentioned. Care is to be taken to see that vultures and other birds do not sit on the *Indradhvaja.*

The festivities continued for ten days and at midnight of the 10th, in *Rohiṇī*, the *Indradhvaja* was brought down.

At the end of this description, Bhoja again has an account of the setting up of the *Dhvaja*, its measurements, and the other Deities (verses 201–212, the end). This seems to be according to another authority. The *Indra-sthāna* or the place for the *Dhvaja* is given here as in the east of the city or of the Brahman-quarters

(201), whereas in the previous account, it was mentioned generally as the city or the military camp (18).

It may be seen that in the treatment in the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, two aspects of the Festival claim the special attention of the author : the measurements, parts, construction and setting up of the Flag-staff, its *Yantra*, banner, etc. and the good and bad omens of the different acts being done without mishaps or otherwise. These omens, it may be noted, come down from the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa*.

In the work called *Bhujabalanibandha*, a Dharma Digest ascribed to him,[1] Bhoja deals with the religious observances round the year and here, he deals with the *Indradhvaja*-festival under the rites of the *Bhādrapada*-month. He refers to the festival as *Śakra-Utthāpana*, ' Raising Indra '; the Śravaṇa constellation in conjunction with Śukla Dvādaśī for its inauguration is mentioned and the conduct of this festival is said to be for the good of the King as well as the cultivators (*Kṛṣīvalas*), for peace in the Kingdom and rich crops in the fields. Some verses to be recited for Indra's propitiation are also given here.

In his *Smṛti Nibandha* called *Rājamārtāṇḍa*, the BORI ms. of which Kane had examined, Bhoja has another somewhat detailed account (verses 1260-92) of this festival. (*HDS*. V.i.p. 274)

While all the above surveyed sources describe the *Indradhvaja* as a festival of the *Śarat* season, a small South Indian compilation from *Dharma-nibandhas*,

1. Ms. in Madras Govt. Ori. Mss. Library, R. No. 3078.

called *Vināyakādi-sarva-pūjāpaddhati*[1] mentions the *Caitra Śukla Pratipad* as the date for *Indradhvajapūjā.* The householder gets ready in front of his house a place decorated with *Kolam* (*Raṅgavallī*), recites *Maṅgalā-śāśana* and raisesa decorated red Banner. The eating of *Nimba*-leaves together with *Hingu*, tamarind, and molasses is also prescribed along with the Indrapūjā. Then the *Pañcāṅga*, the Almanac, of the new year is read out by one and listened to by others.

Among Alaṁkāra works the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of *Śāradātanaya* alone includes *Śakrārcā* in the Spring festivities. From the account in the South Indian compilation quoted above, it is clear that the Indradhvaja-pūjā is combined with the New year celebration. For *Indradhvaja* being celebrated with the New year, see also Underhill, 'Hindu Religious Year', p. 42.

As we shall see presently, the Indra-festival of ancient Tamilnadu described in the Tamil epic *Śila-ppatikāram* was on *Caitra Pūrṇimā.* In Nepal, at Bhaktapur alone, there is a smaller Indradhvaja festival in Vaiśākha (Spring), while the Nepal national festival of Indradhvaja is, as in all of our sources, in Śarad. Regarding *Devi Navarātrī*, we have in all the *Nibandhas* and also in practice, a *Vasanta Navarātrī* and a *Śārada Navarātrī.* Perhaps, for *Indradhvaja*-festival too, there might have been likewise a Caitra and a Śārada elebration.

The *Indradhvaja* festival has been in vogue among the Jains also. It was celebrated according to the *Kālakācāryakathā* on the fifth day of the *Paryūṣaṇa* in

1. Printed at Kumbhakonam, 1971.

the rainy season.[1] A Jain text on this found in several mss. is the *Indradhvajapūjā* by Viśvabhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Viśālakīrti.[2] The divergence in the story of the origin of this festival in the Jain tradition is that once King Bharata asked Indra how the effulgent ones in heaven looked like; Indra showed him his own bright and bedecked finger as an indication of the splendid form of those in heaven; and it was after that finger that a Post was set up as an image of Indra and worshipped for eight days.[3] According to Viśvabhūṣaṇa's account, Indra first worshipped Jina and then set up his *Dhvajas* in all Jain temples and thus himself promulgated the worship of his Flag.

There are several references to this festival in Jain literature.[4] *Indramaha* is mentioned as one of the four great festivals, *Mahāmahas*. It was celebrated in Āṣāḍha or *Śrāvaṇa*. The Flag-staff (*Indalaṭṭhi, Indakeu*), its raising and the festivities and rejoicings as found in other descriptions, are mentioned here also. The following details may be noted : The *Bṛhatkalpabhāṣya* speaks of the *Indrasthāna* and five hundred girls with flowers and incense pots, praying to Indra for *Saubhāgya*; they eventually become the wives of the Prince who came to the festival. In the commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, it is said that King Dummuha of Kampillapura who celebrated it saw the falling of the *Indra-*

1. See 'The Story of Kālaka,' W. Norman Brown, (Washington. 1933) p. 83.
2. For a ms. see MT. 1598.
3. *Indian Culture* V.4, p. 435.
4. See J. C. Jain, 'Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jain Canons,' Bombay, 1947, pp. 216–7.

dhvaja and thereafter renounced the Kingdom.[1] Here is probably the idea that we noted above in the references and accounts in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, *Kālikāpurāṇa* and the *Kālaviveka* of Jīmūtavāhana that the dismantling or abandonment of the *Dhvaja* should not be seen by the King.

It is interesting to note the several and divergent details of the festival as found in classical Tamil literature, particularly the twin Epics, the *Śilappatikāram* and the *Maṇimekhalai*.[2] Canto V of the former and the opening Canto of the latter speak of this festival at *Puhār*, the Cola sea-port at the confluence of the *Kāverī* and the sea and hence called *Kāverippūmpaṭṭiṇam*, and called also after the presiding female Goddess of the City *Campāpati.*

Citrāpaurṇamī, the full moon day of the Caitra month, is the date of the festival. The *Maṛava* maidens, in fine dress, made offerings to the guardian *Bhūta* of the city who had come there at the instance of Indra and had been consecrated at the junction of four roads, and hence called the *Bhūtacatuṣkam* or the square of the *Bhūta*; they offered also dances. Special sacrifices were offered here and at other sacred spots in the city. There were Vedic rites, recitation of *Purāṇas*, discourses and discussions by learned men who had gathered, music, drum-beating and dance. The whole city was

1. *Ibid.*, p. 386.
2. V. R. R. Dikshitar, 'The *Śilappatikāram*,' English Translation, OUP, 1939, Intro. p. 53, Text, pp. 110–121; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Maṇimekhalai in its Historical Setting*, 1928, pp. 112, 114–6, 177, 185, 204; also Canto I of the poem.

decorated. There was a shrine dedicated to Indra's *Vajra* called *Vajrakoṣṭha* wherefrom the auspicious drum was taken and brought on an elephant to the temple of Indra's white elephant, the *Airāvata*, accompanied by mounted guards. This is evidently a function which heralded the beginning and marked also the end of the festival. Indra was bathed in the holy waters from Kāverī etc. In another shrine dedicated to the Celestial Tree, the *Kalpakavṛkṣa*, Indra's high banner with *Airāvata*-ensign was hoisted. The King rode through the city with all his retinue and the vassals. The Indra-festival was observed in all the temples, of Śiva, Kumāra, Viṣṇu, Baladeva and Indra. It was originated by an old Cola King who was named after Tripurāntaka, and it lasted for twenty-eight days during which Indra had agreed to abide in *Puhār* City. If it was not celebrated the *Catuṣkabhūtam* would leave the city. A later Cola Neḍumuḍikkiḷḷi, being distracted in love, failed to celebrate the festival and *Maṇimekhalā*, the Sea Goddess, made the sea flood the city.

There used to be till recently among some classes in Tamilnad a celebration called 'Kamba-seva' meaning literally 'worship of the Post'. It may be a survival in some form of the *Indra-dhvaja* worship. Kane[1] notes the prevalence in Deccan of the practice of raising a Bamboo staff on the first of Caitra, which is likely to be a vestige of the *Indradhvaja* celebration.

This festival, it may be seen, has similarity to the European May Pole celebrations. The *Indra-dhvaja* may

1. *HDS*. II. ii. p. 826.

derive from the veneration of the Oak as the most sacred tree of the Indo-Aryans of antiquity (See Frazer, p. 645; Ridgeway, pp. 15, 57). The Oak was sacred to the god of thunder and lightening (see Frazer, p. 161). Meyer, in his *Trilogie*, goes elaborately into the European parallel of the going to the forest to fell a tree for the *Indradhvaja*.

The main or common features of the May Pole festival[1] will clearly bear out the kinship between it and the *Indra-dhvaja* festival. The May Pole symbolises the May King or Green Man, a peasant youth who, at dawn of May, had engaged himself with unrestrained games and love-making. The youngsters cut down a tree, chop off its branches, leaving a few at the top, and with the playing of horns, flutes etc., bring it to the village. They sometimes fix a wagon with twenty to forty decorated oxen, with men, women and children following. In the village, they erect it on the village green and sing and dance round it, with ribbons in their hands.[2] The girls also go from house to house with twigs of trees and beg.[3]

The *Sāla* tree had been considered as Indra and worshipped by some of the tribals in India, Santals,

1. See Frazer, especially pp. 119–35.

2. *Cf.* the South Indian *Pinnal Kolāṭṭam* dance, where ribbons in the hands of the girls get plaited and unplaited in the course of their movements round and round.

3. In this, there is an admixture of a parallel to the Tamil *Pāvai* or *Pasuvan*.

Muṇḍas, etc.[1] There is some survival of the *Indradhvaja* festival among the Oroans of Chota Nagpur, who have a festival called *Karma* in the same season of *Bhādrapada*, when they set up three posts of the *Karma* tree on housetops, and after breaking the fast at night, lassies carry these three branches to the place of dance, and members of both sexes dance there till morning. Then the lassies again take these branches in procession from house to house with gong and drum. When at each house the branches are honoured and when the round is completed, they go to a neighbouring pond or river where the worshippers immerse the branches, bathe and disperse.[2]

The Japanese Blue Oak Tree festival (*Nanao Seihakusai*) may be compared to the *Indra-dhvaja*; they set up a high wooden *Yama* (float) with dolls and take it in procession.[3]

Navarātri, Daśarāh

This is an old festival still actively celebrated in all parts of the country. On the completion of the new-moon day of the *Mahālaya*-fortnight observed in honour of the *Pitṛs*, i. e. with the *Āśvina Śūkla Pratipad*, the 1st of the bright fortnight in September-October, starts

1. See S. Sen Gupta, *Tree Worship in India*, Calcutta 1905, p. 133, article in the above collection by Piyushakanti; see also pp. 70–71, K. N. Sahay's article in the same collection 'Tree Cult in Tribal Culture'. See also *JASB*. 1870, p. 226, Pratapachandra Ghosha, on *Śakrotthāna* as a Tree worship.

2. Frazer, p. 342; also *Tisco Review*, Calcutta, Aug. 1937, p. 546 and K. N. Sahay's 'Tree Cult in Tribal Culture,' *Op. cit.*

3. P. 150, *Japanese Festivals*, cited below, p. 158, fn. 1.

the *Navarātri*-festival. It is observed for nine or ten days as the names *Navarātri* popular in the South and *Daśarah*, popular in the North, signify. As I already observed, the strong religious tradition of a particular region gives an orientation towards that religion in the celebration of that festival in that part of the country. In Bengal, the *Daśarah* is well-known for the worship of *Kālī* and *Mahiṣamardani Durgā* and is popularly known as *Durgā-Pūjā*.[1] In North India, U. P., Delhi and other areas, in addition to the worship of *Durgā*, the *Rāmalīlā* pageant is conducted during this season as according to the *Devī*-cult, Rāma is said to have waged his war with Rāvaṇa on these days, to have worshipped *Devī* during the war and by Her grace, won the battle on the *Vijayadaśamī* day.[2]

The importance of this festival is seen in the number of *Purāṇas* which describe it and the number of *Smṛti-digests* which deal with it, using the accounts in the *Purāṇas*. Kane has provided a summary of the material in all the *Smṛti*-digests and the *Purāṇas*.[3]

In the South the festival is in adoration of *Śakti* in all her three aspects *Durgā*, *Lakṣmī* and *Sarasvatī*;

1. There are several accounts and special works in Sanskrit and English on the *Durgotsava* and *Durgāpūjā* of Bengal. A recent short account is *Durgāpūjā in Bengal* by Dr. S. C. Banerji, *JOR*. Madras, XXXIX 1976, pp. 11–15. Along with the image of Durgā, a bundle of nine plants tied together is also worshipped. Reference has already been made to this component in the celebration in Bengal, called *Navapatrikā*.
2. See my 'The Greater Rāmāyaṇa', Varanasi, pp. 70–72.
3. *HDS*. V. 1, pp. 155–194. See also S. C. Banerji's article cited above.

it is held that each of these three forms of *Śakti* presides over three days of the *Navarātri.* Devout people read the *Rāmāyaṇa,* or listen to its exposition, a link with the *Rāmalīlā*-tradition of the North, do similar reading of religious texts bearing on *Devī*-worship, *Devībhāgavata, Devīmāhātmya* otherwise called *Durgāsaptaśatī* or *Caṇḍī,* and *Devī*-hymns. Sometimes either at the home or at a public place, homas with *Devīmāhātmya* (*Caṇḍī*) are performed and the *Devībhāgavata* is expounded to the public. Those who can afford feed and present new clothes on all the nine days to *Suvāsinīs.* Many texts on this festival include in the celebration the *Pūjā* of *Kumārīs.* The temples have a special festival, particularly at the *Devī*-shrines.

Apart from this religious aspect, there is in South India a social festive aspect, in the Doll-show arranged in each home, the size and magnificence of it depending on the affluence and enthusiasm of the individuals. The dolls, mostly of clay, represent all gods and mythological figures and saints. The basis of this is to be seen in two sources : we saw already how the *Atharvapariśiṣṭa* enjoined at this time the worship of an image of *Durgā* made of flour *(piṣṭa-mayī Durgā).* The more proximate and more influential source is the *Devīmāhātmya,* where, at the end of her victories over all the demons, after her blessing King Suratha and merchant Samādhi, on the advice of the Sage Sumedhas, the King and the merchant worship Devī on the sands of the river with her image made of earth (XIII.9, 10). It is after this practice in the *Devīmāhātmya* that in Bengal they prepare fresh images of *Mahiṣamardanī*

and we in the South, have the display of clay-dolls of divinites. In some parts of Āndhra, the Doll-show, *Bomma Koluvu*, is held as part of *Dīpāvali*; the reason for this remains to be explored.

The Doll-show is attended by mutual invitations of the womenfolk and young girls. They call on each other, sing songs before the dolls, take sandal, pan, coconut, banana etc. and depart.[1]

In public, this is also a season for music performances.

On the 9th day, *Mahānavamī*, Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning, is worshipped in the form of books, manuscripts, music instruments, and according to one's profession, all implements of one's work. Drivers wash, decorate and worship cars, shopkeepers their shops, factory-workers their machines, and all kinds of artisans their tools and hence this is called *Āyudha pūjā*.

The name *Āyudhaa-pūjā* has an old historical link with the celebration by the King in this season, of the

1. A comparable Japanese festival is the Girls' Day, *Hina Matsuri* on the third day of the third month of the year; toys, originally of gods, and of particular human beings, handed down as family heritage, are arranged on a tiered stand, just as in Hindu homes, especially in South India, and girls of the family go about inviting their friends to come and see their doll-display. PP. 72–74, *Japanese Festivals*, Helen Bauer and Sherwin Carlquist, Charles E. Tuttle Co., Tokyo, 1965, 1974. Sten Konow, in a Note on 'A European Parallel to the Durgā Pūjā' (*JASB*. N.S. XXI. 1925, pp. 315–24) draws attention to the worship of the goddess *Nerthus* by Germanic tribes. Konow suggests the derivation of Nerthus from dance; *cf.* *Nṛtu* in Skt.

waving of lights before his horses, chariots, and elephants, *Nīrājana* of *Vājins, Hastins* and *Rathas,* followed on the next day by a token march of victory, *Vijayayātrā.* We noted this when we dealt with the *Atharva-pariśiṣṭa.* Ch. 44 of the *Bṛhatsamhitā* called *Nīrājana* deals with this lustration of the King's horses. An arch, *Toraṇa,* is erected in the North-east in the city; a pavilion is put up there to perform *Śānti* for the welfare of the State, with *Homa, Bali* etc. The horses are tied with auspicious herbs and seeds. Then a clay effigy of the enemy is to be prepared and the King should pierce with his lance this symbolic foe, with the incantation of Mantras which are harmtul, Abhicāra-mantras.

शान्तिं राष्ट्रविवृद्ध्यै कृत्वा भूयोऽभिचारकैर्मन्त्रैः ।
मृन्मयमरिं विभिन्द्याच्छूलेनोरःस्थले विप्रः ॥२१॥

The King should then, with his army, make a token warlike expedition north-wards.

The *Purāṇas* and *Nibandhas* mention also the King worshipping the *Śamī* tree before he starts on his march.

The day after *Sarasvatī Pūjā* is the *Vijayadaśamī,* the day on which *Devī* and Rāma had their victories in their battles. All new undertakings are begun on this auspicious day and the little children of the house are put to school or new courses in music or dance or in any study are started on this day.

There used to be also displays of feats in sword-play and fencing with sticks *(Daṇḍas),* called in Tamil *Śilambam.* In sword-play, they would flourish swords of very long fine blades that could be rolled and hence called *Śurul-vāḷ.*

The *Navarātri* celebrated thus in Autumn is called *Śārada Navarātri* and as distinguished from it, a *Vasanta Navarātri* is also celebrated, although this is comparatively less in vogue. The *Śrīpañcamī* in Bengal from *Māgha Śukla Pañcamī* onwards in which *Śri (Lakṣmī)*, *Sarasvatī* (as represented by the accessories of learning like pens and books) and *Kālī* are worshipped, may be taken as a regional representative of the *Vasanta Navarātri.*[1]

Dīpāvali

As the greatest symbol of man and as the precursor of life on this planet, Light has inspired some of the most beautiful prayers in the Ṛg Vedic hymns. Of this light which sheds joy here and leads to bliss in the hereafter, the lamp, the DĪPA, is the most concrete, proximate and familiar symbol. 'The Soul, which shines within oneself like a lamp, should be meditated upon', says Yājñavalkya (II.iv.201). 'Be a lamp unto yourselves' says the Buddha. Whether it was domestic or social enjoyment or a religious offering or spiritual dedication, man had always resorted to the *Dīpa*. The *Dīpa*-festivals of India are indeed many and the one that has persisted as a national celebration is the *Dīpāvali.*

Dīpāvali means 'rows of lights' but this exact form of the festival is seen only in North India; in the South, the festival of rows of lights comes a little later in *Kārttika* when temples and homes are illumined. In fact, this whole season beginning with the days immediately preceding and following the Āśvayuk New Moon

1. H. H. Wilson, *Essays and Lectures chiefly on the Religion of the Hindus*, London, 1862, Vol. II, pp. 187–192.

day and ending with the Kārttika Full Moon day was, in times past, a season of several joyous celebrations culminating in the great autumnal Moon-light festival called the *Kaumudī-mahotsava.*[1] The celebration that has survived as *Dīpāvali* has itself many observances telescoped into it. If one scans over these days in our *Pañcāṅga,* one will notice a cluster of festivals marked here; and when one analyses also all that we do for the *Dīpāvali* and inquires into the significance of these, one will understand the several celebrations that had got attracted to the *Dīpāvali* and had thereby enriched it. In the South, soon after our oil bath, and wearing of new clothes, we take a medicinal preparation of dry ginger, molasses etc.; this is a remnant of the *Dhanvantari Jayanti,* occurring on the preceding day, commemorating the divine founder of *Āyurveda* to whom this preparation is a *naivedya*-offering. Some Smṛti Nibandhas quoting the *Liṅga Purāṇa* describe an observance called *Pretacaturdaśī* on this day and prescribe worship of Śiva and feasting of Śaiva mendicants. In some parts of South India, Śiva is worshipped on this day, because the *Kedāreśvara-vrata*[2] falls on the same day. In the north, where merchants attach great importance to the *Dīpāvali* festival, the most prominent feature, apart from the lights, is the worship of the Goddess of wealth, *Lakṣmī,* and the opening of new accounts. Now in

1. Some of the descriptions of Dīpāvali in the texts join the Kaumudīmahotsava with it and the features mentioned for the two overlap.
2. The *Vratacūḍāmaṇi* deals with this *Vrata* and gives its story on the basis of *Skanda Purāṇa* which it quotes.

Dvitīyā and *Bhrātṛ-Dvitīyā*; and *Tarpaṇa* (offer of water-libation) to Yama is enjoined by the texts. There is mentioned also a further association of the brother and sister, Yama and Yamī, the latter becoming *Yamunā* in the Purāṇas, and their affectionate relationship; and in the North particularly, brothers and sisters exchange presents. The brother eats out of the hands of the sister, even as Yama ate out of Yamunā's hands; this is said to conduce to wealth, access of wealth[1] and long life. Our *Pañcāṅgas* too note the *Bhaginī-hasta-bhojana* on the day of the *Yama-Dvitīyā* or *Bhrātṛ-Dvitīyā* (Bhau Bij).

In the South the chief items of the Dīpāvali celebrations are: First the oil bath before Sunrise. As the Dharmaśāstra texts say, the sacred Gaṅgā is considered as present in the water *(jale Gaṅgā)* and in the morning, friends greet each other with the words 'Have you had your Gaṅgā-snāna?' The second important thing is the wearing of new dhotis and sarees, which form the costliest part of the celebration. If a daughter had been married during the year, the son-in-law must be invited and given new clothes and other presents. During the day, there is a feast. If there has been a death among the agnates of the family during the year, the Dīpāvali which is called a *Paṇḍikai* or a happy celebration is not observed.

But what is our *Dīpāvali* without the crackers which are fired after the bath and the wearing of new clothes? How do the crackers come in? They are not new but are perhaps among the oldest, essential features

1. See for example, *Nāradapurāṇa*, I. III. 18–19.

of the *Dīpāvali*. They are not, as popular imagination may assume, part of merry-making, but are part of the religious beliefs behind the association of the dead ancestors with this holy season. The *Pitṛs* or manes who came down during the *Mahālaya* are to go back now and it is to light their path along the firmanent that lamps on tops of poles are set up and crackers are made to burst in mid air. This is called in the texts *Ulkā-dāna*. In a Sanskrit text called *Dīpāvalī-kṛtya*[1] (on things to be done at *Dīpāvali*), it is said that after oil bath in the early hours of the morning, the setting up of images of Lakṣmī, Kubera and Indra and their worship, the ceremony called *Dīpa-śrāddha*,[2] worship of ancestors with lamps, should be performed. *Mantras* or verses are to be recited to the lamps and they are to be offered (*Ulkā-dāna*) to the manes for lighting their path in the other world. One of the ślokas in the text says: "Leaving the realm of Yama, they who came down during the *Mahālaya*, let they, the ancestors, depart making their way with the help of these brilliant illuminations."[3] This is the meaning also of the *Ākāśa-*

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1. The ms. I read is in the Chandra Shum Shere Collection in the Bodleian, Oxford, no. D. 824, xiv.

2. नानाविधपितृभूतबन्धूनां परलोके तमोनिवृत्त्यर्थं विश्वदेवपूर्वकं दीपश्राद्धमहं करिष्ये ।

3. यमलोकं परित्यज्य आगता ये महालये ।
उज्ज्वलज्योतिषा वर्त्म प्रपश्यन्तो व्रजन्तु ते ॥

Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa quotes the following line:
उल्काहस्ता नराः कुर्युः पितृणां मार्गदर्शनम् ।

There are thus two related ideas, showing the manes the way for their return to their world and dispelling the darkness in their world.

were formerly the main ones, fall to the background. We not only call *Dīpāvali* now *Naraka-Caturdaśī*, but also associate with it the story of the vanquishing of Narakāsura by Kṛṣṇa and the latter's boon to the vanquished that in his memory, people would observe the day by taking an oil bath, wearing new clothes etc. Such a story is hardly traceable in old literature, which, on the other hand, associates with this day *Bali* and his subjugation by Viṣṇu. *Bali-pūjā* is enjoined by the *Purāṇas* and *Nibandhas* and mentioned in the *Pañcāṅgas*, for the first day following the Dīpāvali-amāvāsyā. During the course of long history, it is natural that more than one significant event had occurred on the same particular day of the year. Along with the ancient triumph over Bali, the historical triumph of Vikramāditya over the Śakas too is associated with this day. The oil bath, new clothes and sweets are part of all rejoicings and all the above-mentioned celebrations are characterised by these features. To the Jains in particular, the *Dīpāvali* is sacred as the day of Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa*. The Śāktas of Bengal include worship of Kālī as an important part of *Dīpāvali*. The *Sanatkumārasamhitā* quoted often in the Nibandhas says that on this day *Mahārātri*, one of the forms of Mother Goddess, manifested Herself and hence Śakti-worshippers celebrate Her festival on this day.[1] Another illustration of the coalescence of different festivals into one is the festival of cows and calves seen in some parts of the country at this time; the feeding, decorating and adoring of cows are there because of the preceding *Dvādaśī* being *Govatsadvādaśī*

1. *Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi* of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa, N. S. Press, 1927, p. 242.

and on the *Prathamā* after the *Dīpāvali*, there is to be the *Govardhana-Pūjā* and *Go-Krīḍā* (cattle-games). This day is marked also as *Mārga-pālī-pūjā*, already explained, the worship of the guardian-goddess of the roads; her effigy or picture is set up on top of the fort or pillar and the procession of elephants, horses and cows passed through the gateway adorned with her image. She is particularly associated with cows and to her on this occasion, the King as well as the people pray for cattle-wealth.

Naraka in the name *Naraka-caturdaśī*, as seen by a detailed inquiry into the sources, meant Hell and the things done on the occasion are said to be to ward off Hell and to avoid premature death.[1] Naraka did not mean any Asura of that name. Naraka is 'the kingdom of Yama', the God of Death, and the 'world of the Dead.' In fact the *Dīpāvali* season is closely associated with Yama. It occurs at the end of the *Mahālaya*, the season sacred to our departed ancestors[2] who, during this time, are supposed to come and abide with us and receive our attention. We are enjoined to perform *Tarpaṇas* to all our ancestors and also *Śrāddhas*. The end of this *Mahālaya* season is marked by worship and propitiation of the God of Death, Yama. The second day after the *Dīpāvali*-amāvāsyā is called *Yama-*

1. See for example *Padmapurāṇa*, Khaṇḍa VI, Ch. 124, śls. 4, 6, 9, 10. Apamṛtyur vinaśyati, snānaṃ narakabhīrubhiḥ, Yamalokam na paśyati, narakasya kṣayāya vai.

2. A month sacred to ancestors is known in the beliefs among many primitive peoples; e.g. among the Nāgas of Manipur, there is a month like this called *Mang'atha*. See Ridgeway, p. 212.

our almanacs, which digest and tabulate the injunctions in the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Purāṇas* on the subject of *Vratas*, we can see that the day preceding the *Dīpāvali-Caturdaśī* is marked as *Dhana-Trayodaśī* and the Pratipad following is marked as Lakṣmī and Kubera Pūjās. The observances include women making a noise and with winnowing baskets driving out of the houses Alakṣmī, ill-luck and penury.[1] The oil bath itself is said to be for casting off Alakṣmī and Lakṣmī is said to abide in the oil.[2] According to the *Nirṇayāmṛta*, Lakṣmī is awakened by lighting the lamps. There is perhaps even an astronomical basis for this association of the festival with wealth and merchants, for this is the month of *Tulā (Libra)* and the Scales symbolise commerce.

The oldest reference to Dīpāvali in Sanskrit literature is its mention as *Yakṣa-rātri* in Vātsyāyana's *Kāma Sūtras* in the list of local and national festivals. According to the *Jayamaṅgalā* on the *Kāma Sūtras*, the Yakṣas are said to be present on this night and the merriment is said to be due to their presence. The Yakṣas are beings given to enjoyment and the connection of the Yakṣas and their Lord Kubera throws light also on the worship of Lakṣmī on this day. A reference to the Dīpāvali

1. There is also a legend according to which the *Dhanatrayodaśī* is to be observed to ward off untimely death of a young husband and the observance should be by lighting a row of lamps. See below Dīpāvali and ancestors and offer of light to their spirits.
2. One of several texts on this runs :

   तैले लक्ष्मीर्जले गङ्गा दीपावलितिथौ वसेत् ।
   अलक्ष्मीपरिहारार्थमभ्यङ्गस्नानमाचरेत् ॥

has been pointed out in the prologue to Act IV of the Sanskrit play *Nāgānanda* of Śrīharṣa, where according to some mss. we read ' asmin dīpapratipad-utsave '; but the commentator Śivarāma (TSS. 59, 1917, p. 187) reads here simply ' Pratipad-utsave, without ' Dīpa ' and takes it as the Vedic rite of *Sthālīpāka* to be performed by the newly wed. But there is a clear reference to and brief description of the Dīpāvalī in Somadeva's *Yaśas-tilakacampū* (KM. 70, 1901). As I have shown in my ' Gleanings from Somadeva's Yaśastilaka Campū '[1], Somadeva mentions it as *Dīpotsava* and speaks of whitewashing of houses, decorations with festoons, music, merry-making, gambling and setting up of rows of lights on tops of houses (verses 462–4).

Besides Yakṣarātri, other early names of this Night are *Sukha-rātri* or *Sukha-suptikā*.[2] The *Jayamaṅgalā*,[3] Dharmaśāstra texts, as also some *Kāvyas* which describe this festival as *Sukharātri* and *Dīpotsava* speak of happy bath, rejoicings, eating of sweets and playing of dice, dyūta, the last one not only as part of the merry-making but as reminiscent of the game of dice which Pārvatī and Śiva had played, the belief being that a gain on this night ensures gains all through the year. *Go-krīḍana* or cattle-games were also a feature of this composite festival.

Sometimes what was once somewhat unimportant gains in course of time a leading place, and ideas that

1. P. 379, *J. of the G. Jha Res. Inst.* I. iii. May, 1944.
2. See *Nīlamata* 410; *Ādityapurāṇa* quoted by Hemādri.
3. On *Kāma Sūtras* I. iv : यक्षरात्रिरिति सुखरात्रिः । यक्षाणां तत्र सन्नि-धानात् । तत्र प्रायशो लोकस्य द्यूतक्रीडा ।

dīpa which is set up in some parts of North India. It is evidently because of this that in Nibandhas we find the name *Pretacaturdaśī*, the features of which are mostly the same as those of the Dīpāvali. There is thus a parallel here to the *All Souls Day*, especially as celebrated in Mexico, where the dead join their old families once a year, at a particular part of the year (November 2) not distant from the date of the *Dīpāvali*; lights placed at cemeteries, crackers, dolls of the dead, a variety of confections, and fun mark the Mexican celebrations. The Vedic *Cāturmāsya* rites included a cold season offering to *Pitṛs*, the ancestors, in which Oldenberg saw the vestige of an IE Winter All Souls' Feast.[1]

While crackers exploded in mid air are intended for the above-said purpose, the purpose is also served by setting up lamps on the tops of high poles. Such a practice is observed at the *Pañcāṅga Ghāt* in Banaras. In Bengal they actually float lamps on the waters.

In this form the *Dīpāvali* had spread over the Far East and South-East Asia. In Thailand, they float lamps on water as in Bengal, and also set them up on poles. In Thailand, the floating of lamps on water is called 'Loi Krathong', 'loi' meaning 'to float' and 'Krathong', a 'leaf-cup.' The cup is usually made of banana leaf but some people take a fancy to make this receptacle of the lamp into a bird or boat. The prevailing belief in Thailand is that it is a homage to Me Khong-

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1. Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, HOS. Introduction, p. cv.

kha, i.e. Mother Gaṅgā, representing the waters.[1] But this is only a popular explanation. Obviously it is connected with similar lamp floatations in other S. E. Asian countries like Cambodia and Burma. The Cambodian counterpart is an offering to departed ancestors and a ceremonial send-off to the ancestors after their visit to their descendents and partaking of the feast offered by them (*Cf.* Hindu *Śrāddha*).[2] China has a Lantern festival on the first full-moon day. But it is in Japan, where there is specialised ancestor-worship, that we see most clearly the counterpart of the *Mahālaya* and the *Dīpāvali* when once a year the ancestors make a visit to their old habitations, and to help them, when they descend as well as ascend again, lights are placed on hills, lamps are lit all around, families flock to the cemeteries with lanterns in their hands or float them on the waters. The Japanese lamps-festival is called *Bon Matsuri.*[3]

On the 17th of Thot, the first Egyptian month, the priests kindled before the statues in the sanctuaries and sepulchres the fire for the use of the Gods for the coming twelve months. This was followed by the

1-2. See 'Essays on Thai Folklore' by Phya Anumon Rajadhon, The Social Science Association Press of Thailand, Bangkok, 1968, pp. 37–48.

3. See *Japanese Festivals* by Helen Bauer and Sherwin Carlquist. Charles E. Tuttle Co., Tokyo, 1965, 1974, pp. 59–61. Rice-balls comparable to Hindu *piṇḍa* are offered to the spirits and as in Hindu *Tarpaṇa* in which the names of ancestors are recited, ancestors' names are added to the lanterns that are floated on the waters.

whole country being lit up from end to end, even the poorest family placing a new lamp in front of its door, fed by oil mixed with salt, and spending the whole night with eating and gossip. The idea was to help the souls of the dead supposed to visit their old homes. Says Frazer (*The Golden Bough*, ' the Rituals of Osiris') : " This universal illumination of the houses on one night of the year suggests that the festival may have been a commemoration not merely of the dead Osiris but of the dead in general, in other words, that it may have been a Night of All Souls. For, it is a wide-spread belief that the souls of the dead revisit their old homes on the one night of the year; and on that solemn occasion people prepare for the reception of the ghosts by laying out food for them to eat and lighting lamps to guide them on their dark road from and to the grave. According to Frazer's calculation, the date of this festival of lamps would be about the middle of November.

The Candlemas is an ancient popular pagan festival of lights, which early Christianity vainly tried to protest against but eventually took over with a Christian orientation. The Jewish festival of lights is called *Chanukkoh* or *Hanukkah*. We have a parallel also in the *Lemuria* of the Romans in honour of the *lemures* or ghosts of the dead who were devoid of kith and kin and had inadequate obsequial rites.[1] In the Hindu *Tarpaṇa* we have a final water-libation to all those who have no kith and kin —

1. Frazer, *GB*.

येषां न माता न पिता न बन्धुर्नान्यगोत्रिणः ।
ते सर्वे तृप्तिमायान्तु मयोत्सृष्टैः कुशोदकैः ॥

and similarly in the omnibus libations of the *Mahālaya* season referred to above, we include a class of *Pitṛs* called *Kāruṇyapitṛs.*

In Nepal, on the *Dhanatrayodaśī* preceding the Dīpāvalī-Caturdaśī, along with Lakṣmī pūjā, they offer balls of rice *(piṇḍas)* to crows and also honour dogs. From these two acts, the day is called *Kākatrayodaśī* and *Kukkuratrayodaśī.* In our *Śrāddha*, the *piṇḍa* offered to the *pitṛs* is given to the crows and the *Śrāddha* is deemed well-performed if the crows take the *piṇḍa.* As for the honouring of the dogs, it is probably because of their association with Bhairava.

Probably, the different observances now seen in the festival-complex of *Dīpāvali* go to Vedic times when during this season, some *pāka-yajñas* and other *yajñas* were observed as rejoicings at the passing away of the darkness and the rains, and at the break of light, the onset of Autumn, the resumption of cultivation and commerce and the activities of gain and pleasures. The lamps of *Dīpāvali* light the path not only of our ancestors, but also of those living, shining forth as symbols of the eternal prayer of the Soul "*Tamaso mā jyotir gamaya*".[2]

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1. See page 419, *The Newars, op. cit.* On page 329, however, the same book gives the date as *Caturthī.*

2. The *Nirṇayāmṛta* has a verse to this effect, addressed to the Dīpa of the *Dīpāvali* :

त्वं ज्योतिश्च रविश्चन्द्रो विद्युत्सौवर्णतारकाः ।
सर्वेषां ज्योतिषां ज्योतिः दीपज्योतिः स्थि(?)ते नमः ॥

The Rāsa Yātrā or *Rāsa Pūrṇimā*

The *Rāsa Yātrā* or *Rāsa Pūrṇimā* is celebrated in *Kārttika* from the 10th of the bright half to the full moon. As the name signifies, the *Rāsa* dance such as Kṛṣṇa danced with the Gopīs, forms the chief feature of this celebration. The festival takes after the description on full-moon night of the *Śarat*, in the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa* of Kṛṣṇa's Rāsakrīḍā on the sands of the Yamunā (X–A. 29–33).

Kārttika

It was mentioned above when dealing with Dīpāvalī that in South India, the actual festival of lamps is celebrated on the full-moon night of the Kārttika month. In Tamil it is called *Kārttikai Dīpam* and there are references to it in Tamil epic poems like the *Śilappatikāram* and *Jīvakacintāmaṇi* showing its antiquity in the Tamil country. On the full-moon day at dusk, housewives light a large number of small earthern lamps and arrange them in rows all over their houses. These rows of lamps are arranged in the Temples also, inside as well as on the high towers. In Tamilnad, the chief lamp-festival is at the famous sacred Śiva shrine of Aruṇācala (Tiru-Aṇṇāmalai), 119 miles South-west of Madras where a huge bon-fire is lit on the hills adjoining the temple. This festival called *Aṇṇāmalai Dīpam* draws a great concourse of devotees from far and near.

Before we go to the other associations and traditions behind this festival, we must mention a few details observed in the homes as part of the celebration. Flattened rice (*Pṛthuka*) *Avil* in Tamil) and fried rice, like the now familiar pop-corn (*Pori* in Tamil) mixed with

molasses and made into small lumps, are offered to the deities and eaten by the members of the family. This has a connection with the agricultural produce available at this part of the year and we shall see it again a little later under *Abhyūṣakhādikā*.

A further activity in which the boys at the homes indulge in the early part of this night is the small bon-fires which they make with a bundle of reeds in their hands, which they light and make them glow further and spark by throwing on them the dust of *Guggulu* (bdellium). They also prepare a kind of firebrand with a sack of powdered charcoal tied with a long string to a forked stick, light it and wheel it round so that it produces a circle of sparks of fire *(Alāta-cakra)*. This may be the brandishing of a fire-brand for driving Ill-luck or *Alakṣmī* away, which occurs in other festivals too; or it may be a miniature reproduction at home of the large bon-fire arranged for, on this night, at the Śiva temples.

The story told about this bon-fire in Śiva temples is that of Śiva burning the three demons (Tripura-s) whereby Śiva came to be known as Tripurāri. The story is very ancient and in fact the most prominent of Śiva's exploits, which formed the theme of one of the two earliest plays in Sanskrit, the *Ḍima* called *Tripuradāha*, mentioned by Bharata. A stack of some girth and height is set up outside the temple as an effigy of the three demons, the Śiva bronze idol in the temple is brought out and in His presence, the stack is lit. It is called *Śokkappānai* in Tamil. The effigy of the Tripura Asuras

burns for a time and then the Deity is taken round and finally into the temple.

Sometimes a deeper significance is also seen in the fire, namely that it represents the column of fire in the form of which Śiva manifested himself in the wellknown *Lingodhbhava* story.

That this is not a regional festival in the South but had wide provenance is known from a festival called *Tripurotsava* or *Tripuradāhotsava* described in the Nibandhas under Kārttika Pūrṇimā. Hemādri mentions this as *Tripurasūdana-vrata* (*Vrata*, ii. p. 525). The story of Viṣṇu subduing the Asura King Mahābali is also connected with the Kārttika. This may also ultimately go to one or the other of the bon-fire festivals of the different peoples of the ancient world.

The Kaumudīmahotsava

The *Kaumudīmahotsava* is another festival which enjoyed great vogue in ancient times. It is featured in the play *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta (III. 9–11). The play has only a few details, the decorations in the city, the beautiful full moon and the men and women, including courtezans, who come out in large numbers in the streets to enjoy themselves. A more elaborate description of these details is found in Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, stories 13 and 32, where the festival is called just *Kaumudī*. Śrīharṣa's play *Priyadarśikā* (III. 13/14) and the so-called '*Kaumudīmahotsava*', the anonymous play published in the Dakshina Bharati Series, Madras, make the festival the occasion for staging plays. In the *Kāma Sūtras* (III. 3/211), it is called

simply *Kaumudyutsava* and the *Jayamangalā* there (p. 213) adds that it falls in *Kārttika* and on that occasion maiden worship moonlight in a *Maṇḍala*, evidently drawn in an open place, a worship similar to what the Chief Queen does in the *Vikramorvaśīya* (Act III). It is celebrated on the *Kārttika-Paurṇamī*.

According to the *Bhaviṣyottara* extracted by Hemādri, the *Kaumudīmahotsava* is to be started on the 14th of the dark fortnight of *Kārttika*. After bath in early morning, *Tarpaṇa* or offer of water-libation to Dharmarāja, god of righteousness and death, is to be made. In the evening lights must be lit in rows in temples, monasteries, houses and halls. It is said that, with these lights, Lakṣmī, the goddess of brightness and prosperity, is awakened.[1]

The *Nīlamata*[2] calls the goddess worshipped as *Karīṣiṇī*,[3] which is only one of the names of Lakṣmī.

The next day is the New Moon day when there is *Pitṛtarpaṇa*, offering of water and sesamum to the manes. In the afternoon of that day the King announces that people may be as merry as they desire. At once, the festivities begin and houses and streets are decorated and music and dance start. People sally forth in their best attire and keep playing dice all night. At midnight the King goes through the city in great pomp and

1. For a story of ill-luck being brought to an end by the worship of Lakṣmī on this night, see Nīlamaṇi Chakravarthi, *JASB*. NS. XXVI (1930), pp. 389–91.
2. The *Nīlamata* links the *Kaumudī* with a local legend of the victory of Nikumbha over the Piśācas.
3. Śl. 412 *of Śrīsūkta, Ṛv. Khila*, 'Nityapuṣṭām Karīṣiṇīm.'

performs the act of ceremoniously casting out of his city the spirit of ill-luck or adversity called Alakṣmī.[1]

In the morning following, the King honours with presents poets, courtiers, artists and sportsmen. He then orders wrestlers and dancers to start their shows. There are bull-fights,[2] buffalo fights, elephant fights, men's duels, all of which the King enjoys from his balcony. At dusk, a *Durgāhoma*, offerings in fire for the Goddess Durgā, takes place after erecting in all the important places, on the front of the fort, trees and pillars, the images of the goodess Mārgapālī or guardian of the roads. Just before this worship of Durgā and Mārgapālī, there is to be a procession of bulls, cattle and men marching past the Mārgapālī. In the night the figure of Bali, the virtuous and devout Asura King, is drawn on the floor in five colours and worshipped. The rest of the night is enjoyed with stories, dances and dramas. Gifts are made in Bali's name to please Viṣṇu. This is also called *Dīpotsava* because the lighting of rows of lamps marks the beginning of the festival. The King is obliged to conduct this to keep his country free from disease.

The *Nīlamata* (388 ff.) which gives the local orientation of Nikumbha's victory over the Piśācas as being celebrated during this Āśvayuk Kaumudī festival, gives the following features : decoration of houses, bath and fast, worship of deities, *homa*, keeping awake during

1. This driving out of Alakṣmī at midnight (ardharātre alakṣmī-nissāraṇa) is said to be done on Mārgaśīrṣa Amāvāsyā in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (pp. 353–9).
2. See *Kṛtyasārasamuccaya,* (pp. 23–24).

the night with music, dance, drama etc., bath and feast next morning, playing with bodies smeared with mire, casting mire on others and uttering to each other obscene sexual things. The last, *Gāli,* is a noteworthy feature and as Kalhaṇa shows *Āśvayug-gāli* (VII. ·15-51) had passed into a proverbial phrase in Kashmir.

According to the *Skānda* account extracted in the *Kṛtyakalpataru* (GOS. C. *Rājadharma*, pp. 182-3), the night is also called *Devarātri*, sacred to Rudra and destructive of Asuras *(Devaratrim ca Devasya Rudrasyāsuranāśinīm)*. In addition to the festive enjoyments of the people with dress, decorations, music, dance etc., worship with all kinds of offerings, including lamps of different shapes, is to be made to Śiva. Cattle are to be fed, as also Brahmans. The celebration is compulsory and those who fail to perform it are to be punished by the King. The King too, making himself pure, should worship *Rudra*, bathing the idol daily with different materials; including holy ash.

Kaumudī-jāgara

For Āśvayuk-full Moon, a festival of Lakṣmī called *Kaumudī-jāgara* is mentioned. Its name, as well as its popular form, *Kojāgara Purṇimā*, refers to people keeping awake during the night. Lakṣmī is believed to go round and check who is keeping awake–'Ko jāgarti ?' Purāṇas like *Skānda*, *Agni*, *Padma* and *Bhaviṣya* and authors or *Smṛti*-digests like Hemādri and Raghunandana describe it. Its description in some texts shows its overlapping with the *Kaumudī-mahotsava*. Indeed some texts equate the two.

Kārttika Pratipat or *Dyūta Pratipat*

Mention was made under *Dīpāvali* of the playing of dice as one of its features according to some sources. Actually the first day, the *Pratipat*, after the New Moon day (*Amāvāsya*), is called *Kārttika Pratipat* or *Dyūta Pratipat*, Indra, Lakṣmī as also Balī, the Asura King according to some texts, are to be worshipped. Playing dice is the special feature of this celebration, whereby it is known as *Dyūta Pratipat* and *Caturaṅga Krīḍana.* This gambling is said to be in honour of Lakṣmī and Bali. There is a special tract on this, the 'Kārttika-śukla-pratipad-dyūtakrīḍā-vidhiḥ.'[1]

The Harikrīḍāyana

This occurs on the Dvādaśī after the two above noted festivals and lasts for four days. An image of Hari in the Narasiṁha form, in precious metal and studded with gems, is to be immersed in a cup of honey and water and then taken out and worshipped. The reason why we have included this here is that, according to Hemādri (*CC. Vrata*, ii. p. 376), there are to be at this celebration sports with elephants, *Hastikrīḍā.* The connection of elephant sports with Narasimha-worship is hardly clear; evidently there is coincidence on the same day or days of two unrelated celebrations.

The Saṁghāṭaka Vrata

This falls on the first day of the bright half of Kārttika and is in honour of Śiva. The golden images of of man and woman set on a pedestal are worshipped

1. Mysore Oriental Institute, Catalogue Vol. I (1922), p. 162.

and the night spent in music and dance. In the morning Brāhmans are to be feasted and the images presented to them. This is for securing alround domestic felicity. Some sources mention this day as *Dyūta-pratipad* and others as *Bali-pratipad*, the chief feature of which is the games of dice whereby Lakṣmī and Bali are gratified. Other texts, as noted before, tag on the Dyūta–or Bali–pratipad to the Kaumudī-mahotsava.

The Abhyūṣakhādikā

The *Abhyūṣakhādikā* mentioned in the *Kāma Sūtras* (I. 4) occurs in this season according to Śāradātanaya. It refers to the eating of a special seasonal preparation, i.e. of fried grains, as explained by Bhoja[1] or roasted fruits according to the *Jayamaṅgalā*.[2] In the South, as already noted under Kārttika Dīpa, we make a special preparation of fried grains and eat them and offer them to visitors on that night.

Mārgapālī

The Mārgapālī comes off in Kārttika Śukla Pratipad. A long rope made of grass, reeds etc. with a lot of hangings and trappings on it is prepared and hung from a high tree or post in the East. In the evening, the king is to lead his elephants, horses etc. towards this rope and cross it, with Brahmans and other retinue following him. The object is to be free from illness and secure welfare and happiness. We have already noticed the Mārgapālī under the Kaumudī-mahotsava and Dīpāvalī. The Mārgapālī had evidently got attracted to the bigger Kaumudī and Dīpa utsavas.

1. *S.K.Ā.*, p. 579. 2. *K.S.* I. iv., p. 56.

A variation of this, described in the *Ādityapurāṇa*, as quoted in the *Nirṇayasindhu*, is called *Vaṣṭikākarṣaṇa* and is a Tug of War. The same kind of rope is used and is tugged by the members of the royal house on one side and the commoners on the other. If the former win, it is an indication of victories in war during the year. *Vaṣṭikā*, which is an unrecorded word, means evidently a '*rope*'.

Some Other Śarat Pastimes

Other sports that Śāradātanaya mentions for the Autumnal month when the full moon, the full ponds with their lotuses and swans and the sand-banks in the rivers whose streams have now become thin, afford great sources of pleasure for lovers, are *Candrikālālana*, *Hamsalīlāvalokana* and the *Sarit-pulina-keli*. The first is the fondling on the fine moonlight as it falls on the earth or flooring; the second is sitting and watching the sports of swans on the lakes; and the third is games on the sands of rivers. We may recall the *Jyotsnā-krīḍā* described by Someśvara and dealt with above.

The Navānna and *The Makara Saṅkrānti*

The first day of the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa* is to be celebrated with the festival of tasting the first fruits of the season, of the produce of the gardens and the fields. This *Navānna* is the secular counterpart of the Vedic rite of *Āgrayaṇa* which is an offering to the gods of the first fruits of the harvest before they are used for household consumption. In the South this is joined to the observance of the next month, *Makara Saṅkrānti* when the Sun enters the capricorn and turns

on its northward course (*Uttarāyaṇa*). With white rice-powder (*Dhūli-citra, Kōlam*), an image is drawn of the Sun on his single-wheeled chariot and all the fresh harvest, preparations of sweetened rice, soup mixed with a large variety of vegetables, turmeric, ginger, sugarcane etc. are offered to him for, on him depends all cultivation.[1] The eating of sugarcane which is now in plenty has been mentioned as a separate pastime called *Ikṣubhakṣikā*. See *Kāśikā* on VI.II.73. In Buddhist literature (*Karmavaca* 68. 19), an *Ikṣudvādaśī* is mentioned in which pieces of sugarcane are offered to others. To the Tamils, who call this whole festival *Poṅgal*, meaning 'full and overflowing', this is a very significant festival and the boiling of the pot on the oven on this day is symbolic of the overflowing fullness that they would enjoy throughout the year. The poorer people cast away their old mud pots and buy new ones and presents are made by masters to the agriculturists and other workers. On the next day, called the Poṅgal of the cattle - *Māṭṭupoṅgal* - the cattle are worshipped and in the evening there is a procession of decorated bulls and cows. In the morning, the women and young girls of the household lay small balls of food for the crows and other birds, - called in Tamil *Kākāppuḍi-Kanuppuḍi* meaning 'a little handful for crows',[2]

1. The Japanese *Toji* or Winter Solstice corresponding to this *Makara Saṅkramaṇa* is also marked by offerings to ancestors and the *eating of pumpkins*. (P. 209, *Japanese Festivals, op. cit.*)

2. The significance of this is obscure but an explanation that can be suggested is that it is a thanks-giving to the birds

[*fn: contd. on p. 182.*

visit other elderly ladies and take their good wishes and blessings, which is done symbolically with the turmeric, the mark of unwidowed married life, being rubbed on the forehead of the younger lady by the elder.

The offer of small rice balls on green leaves by women to crows is intriguing. It is interesting and revealing to note that in lower Himalayas, during *Makara Saṅkrānti*, little images of birds are made in flour and baked in butter and are hung round the necks of children as amulets of good fortune. The next day, they are taken and thrown to crows and other birds to take away all evil.

The Makara Sankrānti has been held as a very sacred day for the gratification of the ancestors, *Pitṛs*, by baths, offerings of water-libations (*Tarpaṇa*) and performance of *Śrāddha*. Texts mention especially the use and offering of *Tila*, sesamum seeds, in several forms, – mixed in the water one bathes in, cooked into small balls with *gur*, given straight as gifts and so on. This element gets emphasised particularly in Deccan and the day itself is called in Mahārāṣṭra *Tila*-Sankrānti and *Tila-gul*. It is well known that *Tila* is always used in the rites for *Pitṛs*, as against *Yava* for *Devas*.

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fn. contd. from p. 181]

which had kindly spared the crops for the harvest, without destroying them. The young girls were generally keeping watch at the fields and driving away the birds, *Śāli-gopyaḥ*. In the Japanese Food Festivals, at the end of the growing season, at which scare-crows of all kinds hung up to frighten birds, are collected and a ceremony is held for them. See p. 94, *Japanese Festivals, op. cit.*

In Bengal, women tie a piece of straw to all domestic utensils, for the increase of agricultural produce. The Tamils tie whole plants of turmeric and ginger round the pots or vessels in which the food offering, the *Poṅgal,* is cooked.

Wilson mentions that the Romans had a festival for the entry of the Sun into Capricorn and that this festival, which was prevalent among other European peoples also, was actually a pre-Christian Sun-festival. He says :[1]

" The long course of ages which has elapsed has necessarily impaired the evidence of a perfect concordance between the ceremonies with which the nations of antiquity commemorated the sun's northern journey; yet no reasonable doubt can be entertained that they did agree in celebrating that event with practices, if not precisely the same, yet of a very similar character; and that traces of such conformity are still to be discovered in the unaltered ritual of the Hindus and the popular, though ill-understood and fast-expiring practice of the Christian world,–affording a curious and interesting proof of the permanancy of those institutions which have their foundation in the immutable laws of nature and in the common feelings of mankind."

Hemanta

The *Hemanta* season now follows. The first fall of snow is a festival in Kashmir. The *Nīlamata* describes this festival in vv. 477 ff. Mt. Himavān is first worshipped and then fresh wine taken by those who are

1. *JRAS. op. cit.* pp. 73–5.

accustomed to drink. Goddess Śyāmā is worshipped. With warm clothing, groups of people sit out on snow and enjoy feast and music and dance by courtezans (484). Śyāmā is the personification of the grape-creeper (*Drākṣā*) and there was a special festival of its worship in the wine garden with men and women gaily dressed and with feast, music and dance. (NM. 830–3).

In the Hemanta in general, in other parts of the country, some festivals are celebrated. Śāradātanaya mentions (1) the visit to temples where the annual swing festival is done during this season – *Devatā-dolāvalokana*; (2) attending drinking parties, *pāna-goṣṭhīs*, of which we have descriptions in poems; and (3) witnessing cock-fights and other bird-fights – *Krīḍā-śakunta-saṅghāta*. Vātsyāyana's list of sixty-four arts includes the conducting of cock-fights, quail-fights and ram-fights.[1] In later *Bhāṇa*-literature, which we shall notice below, the cock-fights are regularly described. As this is the season when there is snow and chill, there is a special festival mentioned in which people divert themselves by basking in the early sun-light of the morning – *Bālātapavinoda*. Another amusement is the spending of the time with the parrots and teaching them to talk – *Śukādyālāpābhyāsakrīḍā*. This last one is mentioned more then once in the *Kāma Sūtras* I.iii.16 among the sixty-four arts, and I.iv.21 in the after-lunch diversions of the Nāgaraka. Among things he has in his house and garden are mentioned the cages of the birds, *Krīḍāśakuni-pañjarāṇi*, I.iv.13. The most familiar

1. *Cf.* Kālidāsa, *Mālavikāgnimitra* I. 15–16 – भवति ! पश्याम उरभ्रसम्पातम् ।

references to the Śuka and Sārikā in classical literature are the one in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* 82, the Yakṣī spending her time talking to the Sārikā in the cage, in Śrīharṣa's play *Ratnāvalī*, Act II, where the Sārikā plays a part in the development of the plot, the parrot who narrates the stories in the *Śukasaptati* and above all, the learned Śuka Vaiśampāyana of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*.

The Kundacaturthī

Hemādri mentions on a fourth of the Māgha month a *Kundacaturthī*,[1] which is different from the Kunda-caturthī we noticed under the Spring. In the present Kunda-caturthī in Māgha the King presents corn, vegetables, other foodstuff and vessels to maidens in honour of the Mother Goddess. The King observes a fast on this day. This is called Kundacaturthī, evidently because Devī is worshipped here with Kunda flowers. Hemādri, quoting the *Brahma Purāṇa*, notices this date as Gaurīcaturthī in which Devī is worshipped chiefly with Kunda flowers, for securing Saubhāgya (*CC.* Vrata, i. p. 531). The *Nārada Purāṇa* also mentions this worship with Kunda flowers of Gaurī and the Yoginīs (I. 113. 80–6). The *Kundacaturthī* in Māgha given in the *Devī Purāṇa* (Hemādri, Vrata, i. p. 525–6) is evidently the same, although the use of Kunda flowers is not mentioned there. In his *Bhujabalanibandha (jy-dh.)*, in the chapter on the observances relating to the twelve months, Bhoja gives for Māgha Śukla Caturthī, some worship which is not clear in the ms. but has some

1. The Kunda-caturthī is marked for this date in the Dṛggaṇita-pañcāṅga in the South, but the festival is not observed.

reference to Śrī or Lakṣmī and adds that on the next day, the Pañcamī, *Kaundī* is to be worshipped with Kunda flowers, for the sake of prosperity. He appends a note that Kaundī is Sarasvatī.

माघशुक्लचतुर्थ्यां तु वरमाराध्य तच्छ्रियम् (?) ।
पञ्चम्यां कुन्दकुसुमैः पूज्या कौन्दी समृद्धये ॥
कौन्दी सरस्वती ।

The references given above do not offer a full picture of the *Kunda-caturthī.* There is luckily a verse extracted in the anthology *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* of Vidyākara (*HOS.* p. 56) verse 306, which mentions the *Kundācaturthi-maha* and supplies some more details: it is observed by women; it begins with their bath and when they are at it, they make dulect sounds of 'Ulūlu' and these sounds are more pleasing to young men than even the women's activities in the worship they do, in the dress and adornment they put on or in their getting ready the sweet-meats for the occasion:

कुन्दस्यापि न पूजनव्यतिकरे नाप्यात्मनोमण्डने
व्यापारेऽपि तथा प्रहेणकविधेः नार्घन्ति बद्धादराः ।
नार्यः कुन्दचतुर्थिकामहसमारम्भाभिषेके यथा
हूतानङ्गमुलूलुकाकलरवैः प्रीणन्ति यूनां मनः ॥

However, the mention here of the object of worship as 'Kunda', not Devī or Sarasvatī as in the sources noted previously, is puzzling. One of the meanings of Kunda, according to the Kośas, is Mukunda or Viṣṇu. In the hymn of the thousand Names of Viṣṇu *(Viṣṇusahasranāma)*, Kunda is found as one of His Names.[1] But

1. Śl. 100 : कुमुदः कुन्दरः कुन्दः । No satisfactory explanation of the name Kunda is found in the commentaries on this hymn.

why should a Deity having several wellknown names be referred to by an obscure name?

Śrīpañcamī

While noticing above the Kundacaturthī, reference was made to Bhoja's verse on that festival. Although Bhoja takes Kaundī as Sarasvatī, he mentions also the worship of Śrī or Lakṣmī on the Caturthī and adds at the end the name *Śrīpañcamī*. The *Śrīpañcamī* is dealt with by Hemādri as the worship of Lakṣmī who manifested Herself in the churning of the milky ocean by the Devas and Asuras. Just as the Devas regained their power after this churning, one worshipping Lakṣmī on this day will become prosperous. In Bengal, although Lakṣmī is also worshipped, it is the worship of Sarasvatī and the materials of knowledge and writing, a regular Sarasvatī-Pūjā, that is most prominent. This, therefore, approximates to the Kaundī-Sarasvatī worship of Bhoja. In fact, it comes near the season of Vasanta Navarātri, a festival in honour of Durgā, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī.

In only one text, the *Varṣakṛtyadīpaka*, (pp. 287–8), the Śrīpañcamī is given as the worship of the god of love, Kāma, and his spouse Rati, thus making it the Vasantotsava. The authority for it is given as the *Purāṇa-samuccaya*. After the worship of Kāma and Ṛati and the feast, musicians, dancers and actors should be given presents; and the singing of Rāga Vasanta by a Brahman musician should be listened to.

Vasantapañcamī

This forms part of the series of celebrations of the advent of Spring, culminating in the Holi. As noted

above, it had coalesced with the Śrīpañcamī. Gaiety, light coloured dress and kite-flying mark the celebration. Kite-flying forms a standard theme done in an elaborate manner in the Kathak dance of the North. The game includes competition between rival fliers and the attempts at the cutting of the strings of each other's kites. Besides the above forms of Kite-flying, in Tamilnad, a large Kite, with a bow strung with a gut, is tied to the top of a tree and in the wind, this Kite keeps on making a soft sweet sound like that of the *Garuḍa*-eagle, and hence called after that bird. In some parts of the north, the wandering bards called *Bhāṭs* present each other, in the morning of this day, mango blossoms,[1] which are harbingers of Spring.

Malladvādaśī

The twelfth day in the Mārgaśīrṣa month is called the *Malladvādaśī*, i.e., the day of the wrestlers. Hemādri says that wrestling is to take place on this day. It was originated by Kṛṣṇa on the banks of the Yamunā under the banian tree called the *Bhāṇḍīra*. He wrestled and danced with his shepherd mates. People ate, drank, made fun and pulled each other down. The *Bhaviṣyottara* says that wrestlers especially should observe this day and worship the great wrestler Kṛṣṇa, who killed the wicked wrestler-giants, Cāṇūra, Muṣṭika, and his own uncle Kamsa.

Malla-yuddha as such has been dealt with above under the Epics, Buddhist writings and the thesaurus of Someśvara.

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1. p. 30, A. C. Mukerji, Ancient Indian Fasts and Feasts, Macmillan & Co., 1932.

Kātyāyanī Vrata

An important celebration of the Hemanta season, in its first month of Mārgaśīrṣa, had gained a special prominence in South India and Tamil literature, and a form of this had been in vogue till recently. On the Sanskrit side it has its description in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* where it is called *Kātyāyanī Vrata* (X. i. 22. 1–6) :

हेमन्ते प्रथमे मासि नन्दव्रजकुमारिकाः ।
चेरुर्हविष्यं भुञ्जानाः कात्यायन्यर्चनव्रतम् ॥

The Vrata was observed by the Gopīs for obtaining Kṛṣṇa as their lord. They got up early, collected together and with each other's arms twined together, they went to the Yamunā, singing of Kṛṣṇa. They bathed at sunrise, raised an image of Kātyāyanī with wet sand, worshipped and prayed to Her that Kṛṣṇa might become their lord.

आप्लुत्याम्भसि कालिन्द्या जलान्ते चोदितेऽरुणे ।
कृत्वा प्रतिकृतिं देवीमानर्चुः नृप सैकतीम् ॥

× × ×

कात्यायनि महामाये महायोगिन्यधीश्वरि ।
नन्दगोपसुतं देहि पतिं मे कुरु ते नमः ॥

× × ×

उषस्युत्थाय गोत्रैः स्वैरन्योन्याबद्धबाहवः ।
कृष्णमुच्चैर्जगुर्यान्त्यः कालिन्द्यां स्नातुमन्वहम् ॥

They observed this *Vrata* for the whole month of Mārgaśīrṣa—एवं मासं व्रतं चेरुः ।

A special sanctity has always been there for Mārgaśīrṣa. The *Gītā* says : मासानां मार्गशीर्षोऽहं (X. 35). This is due to the Lord waking up at this time from His

four-month mystic slumber, *yoga-nidrā*. The day of His rise is called *Utthāna Ekādaśī* which is noted as a holy day in the Purāṇas, Nibandhas, and almanacs of all parts of the country. Mārgaśīrṣa is therefore the dawn and morning of the Lord and even as the sages sing His praise and greet Him[1], devout persons, Bhāgavatas, bathe in the small hours of the morning and go in groups round the local temple (called *Giripradakṣiṇa*), singing devotional songs *(Bhajans)* and formulae of strings of the Lord's Names and qualities (*Nāmakīrtana* or *Nāmaghoṣa)*. The Smārtas of Tamilnad are especially devoted to this *Bhajana*-tradition.

Akin to this is the singing and exposition of two special devotional classics in Tamil, one Vaiṣṇava and the other Śaiva, the *Tiruppāvai* by the women-mystic Āṇḍāl who sought the Lord of Śrīraṅgam as her husband, and *Tiruvempāvai*[2] of the great Tamil Saint and psalmist, Māṇikkavācakar, centering round the sacred shrine of Aruṇācala. Both these poems are based on the symbolism of the bridal love of the individual soul for the Supreme Soul and the popular festival of girls (maiden) getting up early in the morning, calling out each other to get up and going together for the bath, singing the glory of the Lord whom they desire for themselves. The links of this and the *Kātyāyanī Vrata* of the *Bhāgavata* are clear. *Pāvai* meaning 'Doll' or Image, which forms the central word in the names of both the above Tamil

1. *Cf. Raghuvaṁśa* X. 14–33.

2. The recital of this poem and a connected Swing-festival conducted under royal auspices by the Indian Brahman priests has been in vogue in Bangkok (Thailand).

hymns is the same as the image of Kātyāyanī made of wet-sand mentioned in the *Bhāgavata* as worshipped by the Gopīs. The observance therefore takes the additional names *Pāvai-nōmbu* (the *Vrata* of the mini-image) and *Mārgaḷi-nīr-āḍal* (the Mārgaśīrṣa bathings). Sometimes this is also called *Tai-nīr-āḍal*, the bathings being named here after the next month, *Tiṣya*. As the observance starts on the Mārgaśīrṣa day with the full-moon in the constellation *Ārdrā* (*Tiru-ādirai* in Tamil), and as the calculation of the new month starts either from the new moon or the full moon, these two names came into vogue. The more interesting fact is that among the early Sangham classics themselves, the *Paripāḍal* describes this celebration and one of its names found here *Ambā-āḍal* is a clear evidence of its being in honour of Devī. In both the Tamil hymns mentioned above, it is said that the maiden pray for rains and the prosperity of the earth. When we take into consideration the fact that the oldest Tamil Grammar *Tolkāppiyam* mentions a class of song-poems called *Pāvai-p-pāṭṭu*[1], it would appear that the two *Pāvai* masterpieces of Āṇḍāl and Māṇikkavācakar really go to an ancient tradition of rites and observances in honour of Mother-Goddess, with miniature images of Her, for the sake of rains, fertility and plenty.

The *Paripāḍal*-description, referred to above, gives a picture of how this *Tai-nīr-āḍal* was observed by maiden on the banks of the Vaihai river in Madurai, the Pāṇḍya capital. The description includes Brahmin elders

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1. According to the *Yāpparumkala-vṛtti*, the Jains too had their own *Pāvai*-song-poems. See *Tamil Encyclopaedia* VI. p. 51.

performing fire-rites on the river-bank and the young girls, after their bath, basking and drying their clothes in the warmth of the fires worshipped by the Brahmins.

It is this observance on the *Ārdrā* full-moon day, comprising chiefly of maiden bathing at early dawn, that has been current among Kerala Nambūdri maiden as *Tiruvādirai-k-kali*. See above p. 97, where the young women playing on water as on a drum on this occasion has been mentioned. In Tamilnad, the *Tiruvādirai* coincides with the festival for Śiva whose constellation is Ārdrā; two chief features of this are the visit to the shrine of Lord Naṭarāja (*Ārdrādarśana*) and his worship at homes with a special preparation, called *Kaḷi* (made of rice-flour, molasses and spices) with a mixed vegetable soup. The preparation of similar sweet food with milk etc. is seen in the above mentioned Tamil hymns and in the Kerala *Tiruvādirai-k-kaḷi* and is met with also in an inscription of Rājarāja Cola.[1]

A form in which this had come to modern times and was in vogue till recently,–I had seen it in my boyhood days–is what was called *Pasuvan*[2], *Javantari Makar-nombu*, the first word in the last standing for the month-name *Makara*. The *Pasuvan* image represented *Kāmadhenu* which was worshipped. Groups of girls in colourful attire, with short coloured sticks went about doing *Kol-āṭṭam* (*Daṇḍa-rāsaka*), striking each other's sticks and executing many dance-patterns in their criss-

1. See M. Raghava Iyengar's article (no. 3) on this observance in the collection of his research papers (*Ārāiccittohudi*), 1938, pp. 185–203.

2. See above p. 95 under *Pāñcālānuyāna*.

cross and circular movements. They also perform a similar dance with tapes hanging from a central disc above and in the course of their movements plait and unplait the tapes. This is called *Pinnal Kol-āṭṭam* in Tamil and *Goph Veṇī* in Marathi[1], and is similar to the May Pole dance.

The Holi

We may notice lastly a festival which completes the cycle of the year and brings us back to the Spring festival of the God of Love with which we began. In the month of Phālguṇa, the signs of the coming Spring are already seen. The chief festival which occurs at this time on the full-moon day is the Holi or Holikā or Holākā, which is even now a great holiday all over the North and is celebrated with great mirth and freedom. In the Moghul times, it was celebrated with great enthusiasm in the courts. Abul Fazl,[2] as well as foreign travellers during the Moghul times, describe it. In the Muslim accounts it is called *Id-i-Gulabi* and *Ab-i-Pashi.* The chief feature of its celebration in the Muslim courts is the presentation and exchange of bottles of Rose water. The north Indian music compo-

1. During the time of King Serfoji (1798–1832 A. D.) of Tanjore, a book on this was compiled in Marathi *Goph Veṇī Paddhati* (published by Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore), describing 21 varieties of this Plait-dance. As these types of dances are now included in the School Curriculum, there are illustrated Tamil books on these dances.
2. He notes it as a festival of the lower classes, perhaps because they indulge in its activities with greater abandon and indecorous practices.

sitions called *Hori* and *Holi* derive from the songs sung by the common folk during the Holi festival.

On the history and significance of the Holi, there is a good deal of information, pointing to many strands in its complex formation. It is a very old celebration being mentioned in the *Atharva Pariśiṣtas* as already noted and in the *Kāma Sūtras* (I.IV 42)[1]. There are also two verses in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* (IV. 12, 69) in which the throwing of powder and fragrant water by lovers on each other is described and the festival is called *Phālguṇotsava.* That it had its vogue among the people and not in the primary sacred texts[2] is seen in the discussion of this festival in a special section of the Mīmāmsā called *Holākādhikaraṇa* I. 3(7), 15. In his *Bhāṣya* here, Śabarasvāmin observes that *Holākā* is observed only by the easterners.[3] Kane[4] notes an earlier reference to it in the *Kāṭhaka Gṛhya*, 73.1, where Holākā is given as worshipped on Rākā or the full-moon night according to some commentators.[5]

As for the legends of the Holi, also called *Phālguṇī*, we shall take as our basis the one in the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* extracted by Hemādri (*CC.* Vrata, ii. pp. 184–90) : When King Raghu was ruling in Ayodhyā, a demoness named Ḍheṇḍhā (spelt also Ḍhoṇḍhā and

1. The mention of Holākā is found only in some editions of the *KS*.
2. *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, U. S. A., XV. iv. Aug , 1956, pp. 497–50, my article on 'Variety and Integration in the Pattern of Indian Culture'.
3. तस्माद् होलाकादयः प्राच्यैरेव कर्तव्या ।
4. *HDS*. V. 1. p. 238
5. Other commentators interpret this reference differently.

Ḍhuṇḍhā) was infesting the city. She is mentioned as the daughter of the Rākṣasa Mālin. Men and women and particularly the children gathered together and collected a heap of wood, lumps of dried cowdung, dry leaves etc. and made a mound in the centre of a decorated enclosure. They then set fire to it and went round the fire thrice, singing, laughing, talking freely *(ativādinaḥ)*, using filthy words including the names of the male and female organs in their local languages and making noices by clap of hands and striking their mouths with their hands, and showering abuses on the evil spirit Ḍheṇḍhā. One of the noises made is 'Aḍāḍā', and the words Cold-Hot', *(Śītoṣṇa)*, are also uttered, evidently because it is the *Ṛtu-sandhi*, the last of cold days and the first of the warm days. Unable to bear all this abuse Ḍheṇḍhā is said to fall into fire and perish. 'Aḍāḍā' is said to be the 'mantra' which drives Ḍheṇḍhā away. Ḍheṇḍhā had the disrepute of carrying away children and therefore parents guarded the children on this day. This also explains the large part children play in the bon-fire of Ḍheṇḍhā. The bon-fire and *Homa* are said to be for the weal of the world and the destruction of the wicked ones and the removal of maladies.

To the above outline, we may add a few variations and additional details mentioned in other sources:

The *Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi* (pp. 308–9) and the extracts from Purāṇic and other sources quoted there mention that in forenoon of the day, there is to be cattle-sports (*Gokrīḍā*). The *Varṣakṛtyadīpikā* quotes the *Jyotirnibandha* to say that the fire for lighting the heap

of rubbish is to be brought by children from a caṇḍāla's house where there has been a childbirth :

चण्डालसूतिकागेहात् शिशुहारितवह्निना ।

In the midst of the effigy erected for Ḍheṇḍhā, a five-coloured banner is to be set up.

In a South Indian collection *Vināyakādisarvapūjāpaddhati*[1] the Holākā and her worship are connected with Paraśurāma; effigies of scorpions and other reptiles and worms made of molasses are to be thrown into the fire for Ḍheṇḍhā.

On the next day, the following details are to be gone through according to the different texts mentioned above : In the morning the ash of the burnt Holikā is taken and smeared over their bodies by the people and they bathe at noon. In one text it is said that the fire for the next day's cooking of food is to be taken from the pyre of Ḍheṇḍhā and that thereby people secure freedom from troubles throughout the year. According to local practices, local games are also to be indulged in.

Another account assimilates the story of Holākā to the story of the demon King Hiraṇyakaśipu and his young son Prahlāda who was devoted to Viṣṇu. Holākā is Hiraṇya's sister and at his instance, she tortures the boy; taking the boy with a view to kill him, she enters fire, but the fire consumes her and leaves the boy unscathed. Here also, the motif of Holākā being a demoness-enemy of children is seen.

In Bengal and Orissa, the festival becomes oriented to *Kṛṣṇa bhakti* with Kṛṣṇa killing the demoness and

1. Kumbhakonam, 1971

the *Dolot-sava* or the Swing-festival being celebrated for Kṛṣṇa on this day. This association with Kṛṣṇa attained a further dimension by the fact that the Phālguṇa full-moon day was also the birthday of Śrī Caitanya.

The *Halikāmāhātmya*, an apocryphal text most probably from Orissa and assigned to the *Padma Purāṇa*, identifies Holikā as Caṇḍikā.[1] Devī Holā is said here to have defeated an Asura named Vīrasena.

There are some more details and accretions from each region in the Holi as celebrated locally in the different parts of the country. E.g. in some villages near Mathurā, a mock fight between men and women takes place during the Holi. One of the details we noted above is people smearing themselves with ashes of the burnt effigy of Ḍheṇḍhā. A quotation (p. 301) in the *Varṣakṛtyadīpikā* says that people should smeare themselves not only with this ash, but also with red powders and the dust of earth, and sing, dance, and move round in the streets behaving like ghosts (*krīḍitavyam piśācavat*).[2] In Buddhist literature also where it is called *Bālanakkhatta* (Bālanakṣatra) and is celebrated for seven days, people of the lower classes are said to smeare themselves with cowdung and ashes, indulge in coarse talk, insult peple and extract money.[3] Such was the crowd and tumult in this festival in Śrāvastī that the Buddha was unable to enter the city for seven days.

1. See 'Padma Purāṇa – A Study', Ashok Chatterji, Govt. Skt. College, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 181–2.
2. See Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 241.
3. *Buddhist Legends*, E. W. Burlingame, *HOS*. Vol. 28, p. 310

Perhaps it is from this smearing with ash and dust that the practice of smearing each other's face with red and other colour powders, which is a prominent indulgence of the present Holi in the North, developed.

The unbridled behaviour, obscene songs etc. do underline the fact that the festival has a special vogue among the lower classes. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in some parts of the country, there is the practice of the higher castes ceremoniously touching those of the lower castes and then bathing and it is believed that this destroys all disease.[1]

Whatever the basis of the legends which give Holākā as a demoness, the word Holaka and Holākā are words known in literature, particularly in Āyurveda : According to the *Bhāvaprakāśa*, Holaka is the half-baked grain of Śamī, roasted by the mild and brief fire of grass: and according to the *Carakasaṁhitā*, (Sūtra, 14.61–3) Holākā is a particular way of *Svedana*, or Steam-bath, in which a person lies on a couch with cowdung-cakes in the fire kept underneath. The smoke of the cow-dung fire is called Holākā. This could very well explain the name Holākā for the festival whose central feature is the burning of the effigy made of cowdung and other materials.

Wilson draws attention[2] to some points of similarity between the Holi and the Spring festival of the Romans (Feb.–March) and the Carnival and All Fools

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1. Underhill, *Op. cit.*, pp. 46–7.
2. *JRAS.* 1848, pp. 105–8.

Day celebrated by other European nations with sports, drinking, singing, vulgar jokes, men and women running naked, disguises, masks etc. In Holākā, the demoness-enemy of children, and her destruction, we have an Indian counterpart of the exorcism of evil spirits seen in many celebrations of the ancient peoples all over the world, like the burning of witches in Europe on May Day.[1] This exorcism of the witches is also done with a bon-fire of twigs, resin, splinters etc., the noise of bells, horns, whips, and the barking of dogs. Some people used scape-goats to represent the evil spirit. The Fire festivals of Europe include bon-fire, dancing round the fire, and leaping over the fire. As in the Holi, children go about collecting fuel form one and all and from bushes and with them, they burn effigies.[2]

The collection of all kinds of rubbish and making a bon-fire of them and throwing scorpions and other reptiles and worms into the fire may also be taken as the clearing of accumulated dirty things at the end of the winter, a Spring-cleaning as it were. According to one account,[3] Holakā is the sister of *Samvat* or the Year and on the night previous to the Phālguṇa-pūrṇimā, an effigy on the Old Year, made in the form of a man, a ram or a bamboo hut is burnt.

1. See Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 546 ff., 560–1. Also p. 615, 'The Burning of Judas'.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 609 ff.
3. *Nāradīya Purāṇa* I. 124.81 :

   संवत्सरस्य दाहोऽयं कामदाहो मतान्तरे ।

   See also Kalipada Mitra, 'The New Year Festivals', *Man in India*, no. 18, 1938.

Among the multiple elements of the day's sanctity are the Brahmanic tradition of its being the birth-day of one of the fourteen Manus and the Buddhist tradition of the Sun, Moon, Sumeru, Himālayas, etc. having been created on this day.

Beside the smearing of each other with coloured powder, there is the other prominent feature of the Holi of the North, as we see especially in the Moghul and Rajput miniatures, namely the people drenching each other with fragrant and red-coloured water thrown by syringes. This is mentioned as a separate pastime called *Udakakṣveḍikā* in the *Kāma Sūtras* I.iv.46, otherwise called *Śṛṅgakrīḍā* in the *Jayamaṅgala.*[1] It is described in several poems and prose works like the *Śiśupālavadha*, *Kādambarī*, *Avantisundarī* and plays like the *Ratnāvalī*, either as a part of general pastimes in Spring or as a part of bathing and water sports. Independently, the Udakakṣveḍikā has been noticed above. The throwing of coloured powder and fragrant water on each other may also be natural elements of the merriment due to the advent of the Spring. In some manuscripts of the *Kāma Sūtras*, in the same context, a pastime called *Yavacaturthī* is mentioned and the *Jayamaṅgalā* explains it as the throwing on each other of fragrant *Yava*-dust and gaves its date as Vaiśākha Śukla Caturthī and provenance as Western India. It is just as likely that this had got attracted to the earlier celebration of Holi which is larger and spread over a few days.

1. वंशनाडी स्मृता क्ष्वेडा......उदकपूर्णा क्ष्वेडा यस्यां क्रीडायां स मध्यदेश्यानां, यस्या श्रृङ्गक्रीडेति प्रसिद्धिः ।

In Burma, there is a festival of the beginning of the new year called *Thingyan*, a Burmese adaptation of the Sanskrit word *Sankrānti*, meaning transition and signifying the change over from the old year. People indulge freely in merriment and the chief form it takes is the throwing of water on each other. The festival dates from the Buddhist age in Burma.

The day next to the Holi is the day of the advent of Spring and adoration of the God of love forms part or an adjunct of the Holi. In the morning women bathe, dress well, invoke the God of Love in a 'pitcher of plenty', *Pūrṇakalaśa*, and worship him. They also take on their palm some sandal-water and fresh mango-blossoms which are just showing up and drink them. This last act *Āmrakusumāśana* is noted even in the almanacs of to-day.

In much later times, the earlier phase of the anti-child demoness and her killing recede completely. The worship of the God of Love, which follows on the next day becomes prominent, and Holi and its bon-fire coalesces with the story of the God of Love being burnt in Śiva's third eye.

In the South India, where this festival called *Kāmandī* (i. e. *Kaman-tī*, Kāma on fire,) is known to have come into vogue during the days of Maratha rule, a pole with a cowdung cake is set up, in an enclosure, to represent the God of Love, Kāma, and set fire to. People divide themselves into two parties, one singing songs that Kāma is burnt away and the other contending in its songs that he is never

dead.[1] The songs are in a Marathi-mode called *Lāvaṇī*, which shows, incidentally, the migration of festivals. These songs are improvised by folk-composers. The celebration which goes on for some nights, ends with the full-moon night. The participants in *Kāmandī* belong to the lower strata of the society.

Kāraḍayān

There is a pretty observance of the Tamil region in the same month, i. e. on the first day of the Phālguṇa month according to the calender in the South. This is called *Kāraḍaiyān-nombu* and is observed at whatever part of the day at which the new month actually starts. Women observe this. They prepare sweet and salt cakes with a poorly sort of gram, hence called in Tamil *Kār-aḍai*, offer it to God, wear new saffron-dyed threads round their necks signifying long wedded life with their husbands, salute the husbands and parents, and then eat the cakes together with butter. This is generally linked by the learned to an austerity which Sāvitrī did to secure longevity of life for her husband Satyavān who, it was foretold, was doomed to pre-mature death as narrated in his story in the Great Epic. As Sāvitrī was in the woods, she prepared a cake with the crude sylvan grams which alone she could get at that time. Here again we can see the interplay of the local and great tradition.

Āmrakusumāśana

This observance was touched upon at the end of the account of the *Holi* given above. It is described

1. Using this idea, I wrote a Radio-play in Tamil called *Kāmadahanam*.

along with the things to be observed on the new year day, *Vatsarārambha* on *Caitra śukla pratipad.* Some Nibandhas describe it briefly along with the new year day, e g., the *Smṛtikaustubha* of Anantadeva[1] and the *Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi* of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa.[2] They derive the material from the *Bhaviṣyottara purāṇa*, ch. 132[3] After the Holi is over on the *Paurṇamī* there is the question about things to be done on the next day, the *Pratipad.* After saluting the ashes of the burnt Holikā, a portion of the floor in the house must be marked off, cleaned and decorated with coloured powder and rice; on it, a platform is to be set and on it, a pitcher wrapped in white cloth. In front of the pitcher sprouts, rice, coins and white sandal paste are to be placed, as also new clothes etc. After the King or the performer sits on the seat in front, a wedded woman *(Suvāsinī)* should smear sandal paste on him Then the performer should swallow some mango-blossoms along with sandal paste. This is done in honour of the God of Love, *Kāmadeva*, as it is the beginning of the spring season. The desires one has in mind are all fulfilled by doing this :

यत् पिबन्ति वसन्ताद्ये भूतये पुष्पचन्दनम् ।
सत्यं हृत्स्थस्य कामस्य पूजनं क्रियते जनैः ॥ इति ।

पुष्पं चाम्रस्य ॥

वृत्ते तुषारसमये सितपञ्चदश्यां
प्रातर्वसन्तसमये समुपस्थिते च ।
संप्राश्य चूतकुसुमं सह चन्दनेन
सत्यं हि पार्थ पुरुषोऽथ समां सुखी स्यात् ॥

1. N. S. Press, Bombay, 1909, p. 422
2. Same Press, 1927, pp. 81, 82
3. Venkatesvara Press edn., Vol. II, p. 494

According to Anantadeva, the performer must have an oil bath on the day and he gives also a verse to be recited when taking the mango-blossoms with sandal-paste.

चूतमग्र्यं वसन्तस्य माकन्द कुसुमं तव ।
सचन्दनं पिबाम्यद्य सर्वकामार्थसिद्धये ॥

As mango-blossoms usher in the spring season and form also the arrows of Kāmadeva, they are now taken. As the days warm up now and as it is the season of enjoyment, sandal paste comes into use. All these are symbolised in this *Āmra-kusuma(puṣpa)-aśana*. The *Aśokāṣṭamī* and the swallowing of Aśoka-buds described above p. 89 is of the same kind.

The Vatsarārambha

The new year day, *Caitra Visu*, is also to be celebrated. A few days before the Tamils observe the day, the Telugus celebrate it as their *Yugādi*. In Kerala also this *Viṣu* is as important a celebration as their *Onam*. Apart from the offer of water with seasmum *(Tila-tarpaṇa)* to the manes *(Pitṛs)*, there is a feast. One of the ingredients of the feast is characteristic of the day, a sweet semi-fluid mango smash *(pacciḍi)* mixed with margosa *(nimba)* blossoms which fall in plenty at this time of the year. The idea is that on the new year's day one shold remind oneself of life being a mixed menu of the sweet and the bitter. In the afternoon, drinks prepared with water and butter-milk and with water and molasses are served; this is called *Pānaka-pūjā*. The Almanac *(Pañcāṅga)* of the new year and the things, favourable or otherwise, indicated there are explained by qualified persons to groups of people.

The idea that what one sees, gets, or experiences on this day indicates what is in store for him during the year gains a special place in the celebration of the *Caitra Viṣu* in Kerala. Auspicious things are collected and arranged overnight and people come at dawn with closed eyes and open them before this display of auspicious things. They also touch gold and silver; the elder member of a family distributes coins on this occasion. They have a feast and girls sing and dance. Agriculturists go to their fields, and when they bring fresh produce, are given presents, as is done during *Makara Sankranti.* Comparable to the *Pañcāṅga-paṭhana* in Tamilnadu, they listen to their astrologers' predictions for the year.

The celebration of the new year on *Caitra śukla pratipad* is not a regional feature. The *Nibandhas* speak of it, with quotations from the Purāṇas, as the important day of the birth of the lunar new year and the day on which Brahmā created the world. See e.g. the *Jayasimhakalpadruma*[1] and the *Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi.*[2] Brahmā, other Gods and Time (*Kāla*) are to be worshipped on that day. The week-day on which the new year begins gives the deity, Sun, Moon etc. as presiding over the day and is to be worshipped. The houses should be decorated with buntings and banners. The householder is to have an oil bath and taste Margosa leaves (अस्यां वै निम्बपत्राणि प्राश्य संश्रृणुयात् तिथिम्–*Bhaviṣya*). One should look out for omens and listen to the readings of the year and its coming happenings. The same *Bha-*

1. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, pp. 68–9.
2. N. S. Press, edn. 1927, pp. 56–57.

viṣya is quoted for another activity connected with this day, namely the opening of a public watershed (*Prapā*) to serve the public for the four hot months. If one is not able to do this *Prapā-dāna*, he may just present on this day a pitcher full of cool water (*Dharmaghaṭa*) to a Brahman.

The *Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā* compiled in Tanjore (see above p. 69) describes the *Saṃvatsarārambha-utsava* in ch. 82. The noteworthy points here are : (1) the King places on his head margosa leaf and sugar and then tastes them along with members of his family (śl. 9); (2) he gives oil to Brahmans and women for their bath, he himself offers on the ground drops of oil in honour of Aśvatthāman, Bali, Vyāsa etc. who are *Cirañjīvins*, whose blessings are wanted for his long life, and then is himself anointed with scented oil by one of the women. He then listens to the priest expatiating on the coming events of the year (*Saṃvatsara-phala*, 16) and then makes presents to scholars, poets and artists.

The features of the celebration like the tasting of margosa, distribution of cool water or drink, reading of omens and listening to the almanac, are to be seen in the Sanskrit textual sources.

The Vasanta Navarātri

As mentioned under the *Navarātri* festival of *Śarat*, in some parts of India and by some groups all over the country, a Vasanta Navarātri for Devī is celebrated in the first nine days of the spring season.

The Sāhityamīmāṃsā

The love-games, sports and pastimes mentioned by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Śṛṅgāra Pra-*

kāśa are borrowed by the anonymous author of the *Sāhityamīmāmsā* [1] As shown by me elsewhere,[2] this work draws upon the *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* extensively. In Ch. 7 (pp. 146–154), it mentions the classification given in the *Kāma Sūtras* into *Māhimānyaḥ Krīḍāḥ* and *Deśyāḥ Krīḍāḥ*. Most of the festivals and pastimes already dealt with above occur in this work. We may note only some extra points or differences to be seen here.

For the time of *Āndolana*, this text gives *Mārgaśīrṣa* (Dec.-Jan.) and then adds Cuturthī, i. e. *Āndolana-caturthī*.

When it comes to the *Deśya-Krīḍās*, it gives a regionwise provenance of the games of this class: That *Ekaśālmalī* is played in Vidarbha and *Kadambayuddha* in Puṇḍra is mentioned in the *Jayamangalā*. Actually the *Jayamangalā* says only that the Puṇḍras use sticks, bricks etc. in this game and not that this game is prevalent only among the Puṇḍras. The *SM*. relates *Udaka-kṣveḍikā* to Madhyadeśa, *Bhūtamātṛkā* to Videha, Nava-patrikā to Vana (i. e. Vanavasi) and Bisakhādikā to Anūpa regions. The basis of these regional associations is not known. The *Jayamangalā* relates *Pāñcālānuyāna* to Mithilā but this is not mentioned in the *SM*.

On *Pāñcālānuyāna*, in addition to what Bhoja has said, the *SM*. syas that, according to some, it is the celebration of marriage between dolls, which is a game of boys and girls.

Adopting Bhoja's terminology *Prakīrṇakas*, the *SM*. then gives the festivals *Aṣṭamī-candrikā*, *Kunda-*

1. TSS. 114, 1934, pp. 146–152.
2. See my 'Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa', 1963 edn., pp. 92–6, 704–707; 1978 edn., pp. 92–6, 683–6.

caturthī and *Śakrārcā* and the pastimes of lovers, *Puṣpāvacāyikā*, *Navalatikā*, *Salilakrīḍā*, *Madhupāna*, and *Prekṣyadarśana.* Reference has been made above (p. 89) to ladies bestowing special kinds of attention on particular trees which are sluggish in putting forth their flowers, the best known of these being the Aśoka receiving the kick of a lady. Different trees have preferences to the different kinds of attention that they long for from women and all these the *SM.* puts under the general name *Dauhadikā. Preksyadarśana* is obviously the lovers' going to see dance and dramatic shows as Bhoja says. But the *SM.*, which uses the same illustrative Prākṛt Gāthā here, takes the meaning of the Gāthā in its full detail and defines *Prekṣyadarśana* as taking an opportunity for seeing a woman that one loves under some pretext like going to a dramatic show where she would come.

The *SM.* mentions also a *krīḍā*, not met with elsewhere, called *Udīyamāna.* P. 151 : आदिशब्दाद् **उदीयमानादि**-गृह्यते । He defines it on p. 153 but does not illustrate it. The verse is rather corrupt and the game is thus obscure.

महाचतुर्थ्यां कामिन्या दभिन्या (?) या कलिता भवेत् ।
उदीयमाना(ना ?) क्रीडा(:) प्रयोज्याः संप्रदायतः ॥

The *SM.* then gives the list of the games of boys and girls which will be noted in a further section.

The Ṛtukrīḍāviveka[1]

We have now come round the year with the seasons, festivals and merriments connected with each season. These festivals etc. have been gathered from

1. See above p. 62.

diverse sources, Vedas, Epics, general literature, digests of Dharma Śāstra, Purāṇas and works on love and poetics, Kāma and Alaṁkāra Śāstras, and Compendia of knowledge. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Telugu writer Cerukūri Lakṣmīdhara, later Rāmānanda Yogin, of the 16th century, refers in his commentary called *Śrutirañjanī*[1] on the *Gītagovinda*, to a work solely devoted to a season-wise treatment of sports and pastimes called the *Ṛtukrīḍāviveka*. The discovery of this exclusive treatise will be a distinct gain for the study of the subject of festivals and pastimes.

The Śivatantraratnākara[2]

A thesaurus of the above name was compiled by Basava Nāyaka (A.D. 1684–1710) of the Keladi dynasty of Ikkēri holding sway over a part of Karnataka and Kerala. It is modelled after and based upon the *Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara noticed above at length (pp. 62–82), but is planned on a far more extensive range of subjects, – religion, philosophy, particularly Śaivism and Vīra-śaivism, creation, time, *Bhuvanakośa* etc. However, as the King is the central figure, various activities of the King, daily and seasonal, duties as well as recreations, are also dealt with as in the *Mānasollāsa*. The words *Bhoga* and *Vinoda*, used by Some-

1. Many mss. of the *Śrutirañjanī* are available in the South Indian mss. libraries. The other known works of the author are commentaries on the *Anargharāghava* and *Prasannarāghava*, the *Ṣaḍbhāṣacandrikā* and some Advaitic works.

2. Ist edn. in one Volume, Madras, 1927; IInd edn., in two volumes, Oriental Institute, Mysore, 1965, 1969.

śvara are also used by Basava for these activities of enjoyment and entertainment. From the building of the palace and the setting up of the garden to enjoying poetry, music and dance and the fights of cocks, rams, birds, archery, wrestling etc. are described. The branches of knowledge connected with these, e. g. poetics and dramaturgy, music and dance are elaborately dealt with. See particularly VI. 3-6, 7-9, and VI, VIII. 2,3. Archery (VIII, 2) and wrestling (VIII, 3) especially are described at length. The section on painting here is valuable as we have only a few texts on this art.[1]

The Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā

This mini-thesaurus or manual for Kings on the model of the *Mānasollāsa* has been noticed above on p. 69. It was produced in Tanjore during the Mahratta period. Some interesting activities found here and not already touched upon by us, may be noted.

In ch. 88, this text describes a *Vṛṣabha-vrata*. This is done by the King on the new moon-day in Jyeṣṭha for the abundant produce of grains and prosperity of the country of which the patient and painstaking bulls are the basis. For this the King gets on the previous day replicas, in wood or plaster, in various colours, of bulls together with cows and calves. Next morning he decorates and worships them and prays to them to give his kingdom all-round prosperity. Ch. 107 mentions a number of diversions (*nānā-vinodas*): Apart from the routine of inspecting the four-fold army, receiving representatives of other rulers or chiefs and their tribu-

1. See my 'Some Sanskrit Texts on Painting', *IHQ*. IX. iv. 1933, pp. 898-911, 1041-2.

tes, he witnesses dances, drama and puppet-shows, listens to vocal and instrumental music, enjoys the company of poets, sees the different displays of the magicians, wrestling, fights of rams, wild buffaloes, dolls, models of ships carrying effigies of foreigners and fitted with invisible lighting arrangements (Dīpa-rathas), chariots moving by mechanics (*Yantra*), and Fire-works (*Bāṇa*) (śl. 30–32). All this, the text says, should be gone through all the nine days of the Navarātri festival.

Fireworks

The Fireworks were mentioned above as part of the *Dīpāvali* celebration. It was shown there that the crackers and rockets were really later substitues for the ancient *Ulkādāna* for the *Pitṛs*. In the recent centuries, fireworks had become part and parcel of all kinds of celebrations and festivals, private and public, marriages, processions, etc. But as Prof. Gode has shown in his paper on the history of fireworks in India,[1] it could not be traced before about 1400 A.D. Accounts of foreign travellers of the Vijayanagar and the Moghul Kingdom in the 15th–16th centuries refer to Fireworks on *Mahānavamī*, *Dīpāvali* and other occasions. The references become more in the subsequent period and Marathi literature and Peshwa records mention several varieties of *Bāṇavidyā*. Besides the *Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā* referred to above, which has only a very brief description of *Baṇavidyā*, Gode has found another work the *Kautukacintāmaṇi* of Gajapati

1. P.K. Gode Studies, Vol. V, Studies in Indian Cultural History, Vol. II, Poona, 1960, pp. 31–56.

Pratāparudradeva of Orissa (A. D. 1497–1539) which mentions eight kinds of Bāṇas and also gives the ingredients and formulas for preparing them. In about the same period, Fireworks were known in other parts of India including Kashmir and Kerala and in the latter area, a text was also written on Vāṇa or Bāṇa Vidyā called *Veṭikkambavidhi* by Nīlakaṇṭha.

Cards

The playing of cards has become so wide-spread that no account of pastimes can ignore it. In its various forms it has become the main pastime at home or in clubs.[1] People have become so addicted to it that in their pre-occupation with it they even neglect their routine work and duties. In the forms in which there is betting and gambling, it has taken the same role as the Dice in ancient India and led to disastrous consequences. However, as in the case of Fireworks, cards are a new development whose history is clear only from the Moghul period. In *Kāma Sūtras* (III.3), as already pointed out, a *Paṭṭikā-krīḍā* occurs, which has the variant *Pañjikā-krīḍā.* Some scholars suggest that this may refer to an ancient form of cards. What *Pañjikā-krīḍā* means has been explained above (p. 81).

There are two texts in Sanskrit with the title *Ganjīphā-Khelana*, one by Giridhara, printed in *Kāvyamālā Gucchakas* (XIII. pp. 81–84) and another by Viśveśvara in a ms. in the Library, Bikaner.[2] The very

1. The article on Cards in the *Encyclopaedia Americana,* notes that a 1952 survey showed that 80 6 per cent of the adult population of U.S. plays cards.

2. *New Catalogus Catalogorum,* Vol. V, pp. 234 b.

name of the cards or the play *Ganjifa* is Persian. In Europe itself, its date is not earlier than the 14th century A. D. and it came there most probably from the East. Along with the name *Ganjifa*, it has also been called in India, *Daśāvatāra* by reason of the figures printed on the cards and this may suggest a pre-Moghul history for it. But as already mentioned, earlier literature does not throw any light on it.

Apart from stray articles on the cards in India, particularly their regional varieties, the only historical account of it that I have seen is the ' Ganjifa, The Playing Cards of India' by R. and N. Von Leyden.[1] This amply illustrated article deals with the history of the cards in India, the varieties of the game[2] and the cards, their sizes, shapes, materials and number of suits employed as found in different parts of India. Before this country was flooded by the imported European cards from the 16th century, preparations of cards, painted in colours with manifold themes, had been a flourishing artistic cottage industry and this by itself, and the variety of mythological themes figuring in them may mean a long pre-Moghul tradition for it. But the earliest set of Indian cards so far known is dated 1501 A. D. The conclusion reached by the above mentioned writer Leyden is " There are certain facts which point to a common origin of chess and card game, and both may have developed in India before they found their

1. An earlier article by R. V. Leyden on the 'Playing Cards of India' appeared in the B. B. & C. I. Annual, Bombay, 1946, pp. 57–62.
2. Over a hundred varieties are known in each of the countries where it is played with local variations.

way to the West." (p. 55). The article in the *Encyclopaedia Americana* already referred to notes a late Chinese tradition that the Card-play was invented in 1120 A. D. for the diversion of the then King of China which is also known as the country which invented paper. It notes also that Italian cards of 1299 are known and also German ones of the 14th century. But its conclusion also is that ' the cards must have progressed for a long period in the Orient ' and that gypsies and Arabs introduced them to Europe.

Kites

Kite-flying is a widespread game, mostly of young men, all over the country. It has already been mentioned above (p. 188) under *Vasantapāñcamī.* The kite is made of thin paper in diagonal shape fixed on a strung bow of light material and let in the sky to soar as high as the ball of thread in the flier's hand allows. The game takes a serious turn also when rivals indulge in cutting each other's kite with the string smeared over with glue mixed with glass particles. The chase of boys for the falling or fallen kite is another exciting part of this game, the boys mounting on tops of houses and trying to get it The Tamil varieties of this have also been mentioned above under *Vasantapāñcamī.* But the Kite, like the Fireworks and the Cards, is not ancient and indigenous. Historians trace its earliest use to China and Japan and later to its use in Europe for conducting some scientific experiments in the atmosphere.[1] But it came into wide vogue in India, deve-

1. See *Encyclopaedia Americana*.

loped varieties, and became a theme entitled *Patanga* (meaning bird) in the North Indian dance called *Kathak*.

There is a Tamil word *Karaṅgu* which is attested in early literature. Sometimes it is taken as referring to the Kite flown in the air. But it appears that it refers to what is more popularly called *Kāṟṟādi*, a small fan-like toy made of paper or palm-leaf, with a handle, held by children by hand or fixed at a place and allowed to whirl round in the wind.

Feats of Strength and Acrobatics

Under the Vedic *Samana* (pp. 10–11), under the Epics and the lives of the Buddha describing the training of the young princes, and under Pāṇini (p. 55 above) sports and feats of physical strength and skill, archery, sword-play, fencing with sticks, wrestling etc. have been described. These have been dealt with in a more detailed manner when dealing with the *Śastra-vinoda* in Someśvara's *Mānasollāsa* (pp. 62–4). We shall now notice some more displays of this class and also of acrobatics as seen in some other works.

Kṣveḍita mentioned by Vātsyāyana (III.3) is interpreted as *Vyāyāma-krīḍā* in the *Jayamaṅgalā*. It was mentioned above (pp. 11, 63, 118) that there was a close relation between these physical exercises and displays and the poses of dance (*Vṛttis* and *Karaṇas*) and when the *Indradhvaja* festival stuck to drama in the form of the *Pūrvaraṅga*, these *Vyāyāmas* continued as part of the *Pūrvaraṅga*. After the play-house was ready, there was worship of the presiding deity of the stage, of *Jarjara* or Indra's flag-staff and of several

deities, with a pitcher with consecrated water placed at the centre. At the end of the ritual, the pitcher was broken on the ground and people indulged in physical exercises, jumping, running hither and thither and fighting to the accompaniment of music instruments (III. 88–94). If in the fighting, there is tearing and blood-shed, it is considered all the more auspicious.

होमं कृत्वा यत्रान्यायं हविर्मन्त्रपुरस्कृतम् ।
भिन्द्यात्कुम्भं ततश्चैष नाट्याचार्यः प्रयत्नतः ॥

× × ×

क्ष्वेडितैः स्फोटितैश्चैव वल्गितैश्च प्रधावितैः ।

× × ×

तत्रच्छिन्नं च भिन्नं च दारितं च सशोणितम् ।
क्षतं प्रदीप्तमायस्तं निमित्तं सिद्धिलक्षणम् ॥

After enumerating the 108 *Karaṇas*, Bharata says that they are used in dance and drama and also in fights and movements involved in them.

नृत्ते युद्धे नियुद्धे च तथा गतिपरिक्रमे ।
गतिप्रचारे वक्ष्यामि युद्धचारीविकल्पनम् ॥ IV.56

In classic Sanskrit literature it is again in the *Daśakumāracarita* of the omniscient Daṇḍin that we have a description of these feats of strength and the actions and movements involved in them. It occurs there in the *Viśruta-carita* in Ch. 8—moving with arms on the ground, lifting up of the leg, wheeling the leg, lifting one leg behind like the tail of the scorpion, darting like a shark, turning turtle, executing difficult poses with knives in the hands, and sweeping down like a hawk or a *kurarī*-bird.

Display of fencing with sticks and sham fights with swords by groups trained in these exercises, were part

of the festive processions. They went in front along with the musicians and dancers. In the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* (I. 68) Śrīharṣa describes these playful fights:

ततः प्रतीच्छ प्रहरेति भाषिणी परस्परोल्लासितशल्यपल्लवे ।
मृषामृध सादिबले कुतूहलान्नलस्य नासीरगते वितेनतुः ॥

The *Hīrasaubhāgya*[1] of Devavimalagaṇi (V. 152) has a similar reference to mock-fights *(mithyā-yuddha)*, by stalwarts along with the dances of courtezans:

ताण्डवं व्यरचि वारवधूभिः तत्पुरः किमु सुपर्ववधूभिः ।
तथ्यवत् पथि मिथःपृथुमिथ्यायुद्धमुद्धतनरैः निरमायि ॥

In his own commentary on this, the poet says that such mock-fights at junctions of roads during marriages and festivals are well-known among the people of the South and the Saurāṣṭra region.

विवाहादिमहोत्सवेषु दाक्षिणात्या नराः पुरस्तात् प्रतिचतुष्पथं खड्गपाणयः
परस्परं मिथ्यायुद्धं कुर्वन्तीति सौराष्ट्रमण्डलादौ दृश्यते ।

In another verse in the *Svayamvara*-canto (XII. 16), Śrīharṣa describes the Kīrti (fame) of the Pāṇḍya King as an acrobatic dancer wheeling and dancing on the top of a high pole.

भुवि भ्रमित्वाऽनवलम्बमम्बरे विहर्तुमभ्यासपरम्परापरा ।
अहो महावंशममुं समाश्रिता सकौतुकं नृत्यति कीर्त्तिनर्त्तकी ॥

The Ḍombas, referred to in Tamil as *Domman-kūttāḍis* (Ḍomb acrobats) do such feats on top of poles, on tight-ropes etc. The *Śṛṅgārasarvasva Bhāṇa*[2] of Nallā Dīkṣita of the Cola country describes these pole-dancers *(Stambha-naṭas)*; one of their feats mentio-

1. *KM*. 67, N.S. Press, 1900

2. KM. 78. 1925.

ned here is the females bending their body into a circle with their abdomen above and the males touching their abdomen and jumping over them (śl. 129); another is the women mounting on the shoulders of the males and poising themselves for long on the head of the males; some other women jump high, whirl in the air and come down with their feet on the earth; another woman ascends a pole with the aid of a rope and stretching herself horizontally on the top of the pole, wheels round. The *Rasasadana Bhāṇa*[1] of the Yuvarāja of Koṭiliṅgapura (Koduṅgallūr in Kerala–former half of the 19th Century A.D.) describes as part of the festival of the famous Kālī temple at that place some of these feats, archery, sword-play with drum accompaniment, jumping through cane-rings held high and a woman whirling round on the top of a tall pole, besides different forms of dance and dance-drama. The treatises on dance describe a dancer called *Kolhāṭika* who answers to the above acrobat. See the *Saṅgītaratnākara*[2] of Śārṅgadeva (VII. 1330–1) and the *Nṛttaratnāvalī*[3] of Jāya (VII. 147–150). Among the things executed by the *Kolhāṭika*, according to these two texts, are weight-lifting, wheeling round, walking on rope, playing or dancing with knives and managing to stay unhurt amidst a shower of weapons, and jumping into the sky like birds.

In his otherwise extensive description of *Śastra-vinoda*, Someśvara makes but a passing reference to the ground where these exercises are practised or dis-

1. K.M. 37.
2. Adyar Library edn.
3. My edn., Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, 1965.

played, namely the *Khuralī* In the *Sāmrājyalakṣmī-pīṭhikā*, ch 91 called *Khuralī-vrata*, there is a detailed description of *Khuralī*. The exercises are called *Śrama*, a synonym of *Vyāyāma*. The worship of the *Khuralī* is to be done in *Nabhas* (*Śrāvaṇa*), beginning on the fourteenth and lasting for three days. The *Khuralī* is to be built by artisans as a high platform, long and spacious, with lattice windows on all sides. On one side is to be kept a heap of red mud; in another side posts to rest on; in another part of the arena, a heap of pebbles in a big sack; and in still another part, it rises like the slopes of a hill. Wrestlers are assembled here with all their gusto roused by drums and panegyrists. The King enters the *Khuralī* with some of his own trained men and begins with the worship of the mound of red earth at the centre, invoking there the *Śakti* of the weapons, *Vetāla* (vampire), and Śiva's *Gaṇa*; he offers flowers, incence, light, fruits and various eatables. He then places a lump of white threads before the heap of red earth, ties up a red sash at his waist, and puts on a woven web over his head, smears his body with the red earth, thinks of Kṛṣṇa the great wrestler, puts on the white threads mentioned above as the sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*), ties wreaths of flowers on both his wrists, takes sword and shield, and with head bent down a little, starts the fight He executes movements, forward and backward, to the right and left, wavy and circular. After this sword-play, he engages himself in wrestling. The various actions of his limbs in the course of wrestling are given : *Utksepa*, *Sama-vikṣepa*, *Upekṣaṇa*, *Bhramaṇa*, looking upwards and downwards, beating of the shoulders and thighs, threatening, roaring, staring, jump-

ing, shouting, applauding, striking with fists, and the tossing of the head and knee. Then follow sword and mace duels. At the end of all this, the King honours his teacher in *Śrama-vidyās*, the wrestlers and princesses of his age who participated, and then retires.

In Kerala this *Khuralī* or *Śramavidyā* had been cultivated in different schools to a high degree of perfection and also codified into texts and handbooks. The steppings and movements have been notated with rhythmic syllables to be memorised, on the model of those of dance, under the same set of names as in dance, *Śollukkaṭṭu*, *Aḍavu*, *Aridi* and *Karaṇa*. The text called *Āyudhābhyāsa*[1] gives the neumonic syllables of the different exercises. The Oriental Mss. Library, Trivandrum published in 1956 a Malayalam text called *Kalaripayaṟṟu*. With the same name, another text was brought out by T. Sridharan Nair in 1963 from Cranganore. C. V. Narayana Pillai, who started his own school for teaching this *Kalari-vidyā* wrote a short article on it in the *Kerala Society Papers*, Trivandrum, 1928–32 (pp. 347–9).

This *Kalari-vidyā* was learnt by most youngsters at school. It built up one's strengh and stamina, gave control of limbs and facility in moving them in any manner and equipped one for self-defence. The *Kalari*-ground is described somewhat on the lines of the *Khurali* in the *Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā*, mentioning its posts and platforms and rectangular shape and size. Bhairava and

1. Madras University Malayalam Series 11, 1953; based on a ms. in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. There are three more mss. on this subject in this Library.

Bhadra Kāḷī are the presiding deities. In some traditions Paraśurāma is considered as the promulgator. The ceremonies at the beginning comprise recital of *Śiva pañcākṣara mantra,* and worship *(pūjā).* These traditions still survive in the north, south and middle region. Training in the use of the following are taught: fists, sticks, dagger, mace, pestle, spear, axe, sword and stone. One of the exercises is called after the bear, *karaḍi-krīḍā.* The name is current in Tamil also.

In the Tamil region, the art of fencing with long sticks as well as play with sword, both hard and light and rolling (*surul-val*), were known from ancient times as *Śilambam* and is even now practised. This has been the speciality of two communities, *Kallar* and *Maṟavar* from whom others desiring this for self-defence learn it. An expert in stick-fencing can, by whirling his *Śilambam* so fast and with such skill that he can keep off several assailants round about him and similarly strike down stones or bricks or other things thrown at him. In the Tamil practice also, there are different styles and set steppings, jumpings, lightning moves etc. with their appropriate names. A detailed account of the art of *Śilambam,* with numerous pictures and charts is given by J. David Manual Raj in 'Śilambam, Technique and Evaluation.'[1]

In ancient and medieval Tamil literature there are several references to people and even Kings enjoying fights between elephants, rams, cocks, the first and the last being mentioned often. M. Raghava Iyangar has

1. Karaikudi, 1971. See also *Tamil Encyclopaedia,* Vol. IV, pp. 699–70.

brought together all the available materials on animal-sports from Tamil literature as well as inscriptions (e.g. the great Rājarāja Cola's interest in cock-fight) in his essay on this subject [1] He also draws attention to the work *Purapporul Veṇbāmālai* as a source of information on this subject.

In modern times, as the foregoing account shows, there was a revival of interest in these indigenous games, exercises and feats of strength. The revival was the outcome first of the renascence and the nationalistic and svadesi movement which swept the country. A later impetus was the introduction of physical education in schools and colleges. This revival resulted in the survey of traditional sports and exercises surviving in different parts of the country, publication of illustrated books and the starting of schools for their teaching and further development. In Bengal, for example, in the beginning of the thirties, G. S. Dutt, I.C S., started the Bratacāri movement for the revival of folk dances, martial and otherwise, in which physical exercises formed an essential part.[2] In Maharashtra and in Baroda, these ancient games were taken up and further developed and propagated. The most important of these is wrestling in its different forms and styles called *Bhīmaseni* (holds requiring strength), *Hanumanti* (tricky holds), *Jāmbavanti* (locks) and *Jarāsandhi* (limb-breaking holds), and lastly the *Vajramuṣṭi* in which picked rings were

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1. 'Collected Essays of M. Raghava Iyangar', Madras, 1938, Essay 22, pp. 297–303.

2. See his illustrated article 'The Folk-dances and Folk-songs of Bengal,' *Modern Review*, Calcutta, July 1932, August 1933.

worn on the fist which inflicted injuries on the combatants. These as well as games of boys and girls, singly or in groups, are described in full detail with illustration in 'Encyclopaedia of Indian Physical Culture' edited by D. C. Majumdar.[1] Although called an Encyclopaedia, this book describes mostly the games and exercises, in vogue or revived and developed, in Maharashtra States and cities, Sangli, Aundh, Poona and Baroda. Some of new developments are the *Sūrya-namaskar*, re-organised with the use of *Dands* and yogic *Āsanas* and made popular by the late Chief of Aundh; and the Mall-khambh or Malla-skambha, the 'wrestler's post.' This last is the practice of various bodily movements with a post (*skambha*), involving climbing, clinging, legs and hands twining, bendings of the body, hanging head downwards and several other feats like balancing the body horizontally on the top of the post. Several of the games of boys and girls described here have of course an all-India vogue; a few such have already been pointed out. The *Kuṭuku* or *Kapadi* (p. 92 ff.) is prevalent in the Tàmil region also with the names *Kapadi* or *Śaṭuuuḍu* or *Balīn-śaṭupuḍu*. Only a larger and more comprehensive effort can bring together all such games and exercises as prevalent in all parts of the country and show their inter-relations and local variations and also their history and antiquity.

Some Games of Boys and Girls

The *Kāma Sūtras* speak of a number of local or popular sports and games, *Deśya-krīḍās*. Already in I. 4, Vātsyāyana gave many of the pastimes we have

1. Good Companions, Baroda, 1950.

dealt with above, as *Deśya-kriḍās*. In III. 3, in connection with the art of developing attachment and infusing confidence in young maiden, Vātsyāyana mentions some juvenile games which could be used for the above purpose, like picking flowers and stringing them, *Gṛhaka* (making little houses with wood-pieces or mud), *Duhitṛkā-Krīḍā-Yojana* (making dolls with threads or pieces of wood as interpreted by the *Jayamaṅgalā*) and *Bhakṣa-pāna-karaṇa* (cooking food and making drinks). Then follow some pastimes which engage a little more grown up youngsters : *Ākarṣa-krīḍā, Paṭṭikā-krīḍā, Muṣṭi-dyūta, Kṣullaka-dyūta, Madhyamāṅguli-grahaṇa, Ṣaṭpāṣāṇaka* etc. Yet another set of games given here are *Sunimīlitaka, Ārabdhikā, Lavaṇa-vīthikā. Anila-tāḍitaka, Godhūma-puñjikā, Aṅguli-tāḍitaka*. These are played with the companions or trusted servants. We may see what these games are as explained in the *Jayamangalā* here. *Ākarṣa-krīḍā* is dice. *Paṭṭikā-krīḍā* is taken as *Paṭṭikā-grathana*, i. e. knitting; but this has a variant *Pañjikā-krīḍā* which may mean spinning cotton. *Muṣṭi-dyūta* is said to be well-known; it may mean one holding something tight in his fist or the fist itself held tight and another trying to open it up. *Kṣullakadyūta* is not easy to understand; the *Jayamangalā* explains it by another obscure name *Pañca-samayādi*. *Madhyamāṅguli-grahaṇa* is said to be one twisting one's fingers so as to hide the middle finger and another trying to pull that finger out. *Ṣaṭpāṣāṇaka* is explained as throwing up six small pieces of stones by the palm and catching them by the back of the palm. There is another similar game in which one throws up three or more pieces on his front side and

catches them on one's backside.[1] This is also done with small spherical wooden balls (*Ammānai* in Tamil).[2] Magicians too do this with different materials. The *Jayamangalā* refers also to a *Pañcikāprasṛta*, one more obscure game. *Sunimīlitaka* is blindman's buff. The *Sūktimuktāvali* (p. 244, sl. 10) has a verse on *Nimīlana-krīḍā*. *Lavaṇa-vīthī* (called *Uppukkoḍu* in Tamil) is the same as the *Hariśaśī* described by Someśvara and is also called *Koṣṭha-krīḍā*. See above p. 85. The name *Lavaṇavīthikā* means probably the lines and enclosures which form the basis of this game, resembling the salt-pans. *Anila tāḍitaka* is the wheeling round with spread-out hands. Tamil girls recite a couplet when doing this, the words of which, although corrupted, carry a philosophical idea – 'Rebirth is without fail; coming round and round, one becomes burnt into lime.' They also join together in pairs, hold each others' hands and wheel in circles and sometimes twist their arms and each executes her own circuit.[3]

Godhūmapuñjikā is hiding something in a strip of heaped wheat or other grains, or just sands apportioning it among the players and trying to find out who gets the

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1. This is called *Sagargota* in Western India; see pp. 160–2, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Physical Culture*, ed. by D.C. Majumdar, Baroda, 1950.

2. A genre of song-poems in Tamil is called *Ammānai* after this game.

3. The varieties of this wheeling round are described with illustratious under the name *Gambols* in the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Physical Culture*, pp. 145 ff.

hidden thing. In one of the additional verses in the *Meghadūta* (at v. 66) '*Mandākinyāḥ*,' a game like this with the hiding of gems in the sands of the Gaṅgā and girls trying to find them out is mentioned :

अन्वेष्टव्यैः कनकसिकतामुष्टिनिक्षेपगूढैः
संक्रीडन्ते मणिभिरमरप्रार्थिता यत्र कन्याः ।

It therefore came to be called *Maṇi guptaka*. *Aṅguli-tāḍitaka* is that in which one with closed eyes is struck on the forehead with a finger by one of the rest and the one of closed eyes has to name the person who struck her. Two more *Deśya krīḍas* mentioned in the *Jayamaṅgalā* are *Maṇkūkikā* which is leap-frog and *Ekapādikā*, a play in which one leg is lifted and bent and with the other leg planted on the ground, one has to move and kick a piece of potsherd etc. to a particular demarcated place; or the one running or hopping on one leg, tries to catch or touch one in a group of boys trying to avoid his approach. Both these forms are in vogue in Tamilnadu and are called *Pāṇḍi* and *Noṇḍi*, more or less identical with Hop-scotch. When describing the ways of cultivating young girls or making them interested in oneself, Vātsyāyana says that the young man should gratify the girl with the gifts of her play-things and in that connection mentions the materials of which different kinds of these dolls, painted over with designs in diverse colours, are made,—threads, wood, horn, ivory, wax, flour and clay.

Describing the games which young Pārvatī enjoyed playing along with her friends, Kālidāsa mentions in the *Kumārasambhava*, I.29, her raising sand-mounds

on the Gaṅgā *(Saikata-veaikās)*, and playing with balls and dolls *(kandukas, kṛtrima-putrakas)*. Young girls arrange mock-marriages among themselves or between dolls or trees and creepers. The last one figures in Act I of the *Śākuntala* with the *Sahakāra* (Mango tree) as the bridegroom and the *Navamālikā* creeper as the bride (18/19). Marrying dolls is mentioned in Murāri's play *Anargharāghava* while describing young Sītā's pastimes (III.5):

पाञ्चालीमिथुनमधुना संगमयितुम्

The *Bṛhatsamhitā* mentions in 28.5 the bunds *(Setu)* which children raise on the road (रथ्यायां शिशुरचिताश्च सेतुबन्धाः) as an indicator of coming rains.

The *Bhāṇas* (amorous monologues) which have the milieu of the *Kāma Sūtras*, describe or refer to many of the pastimes of the elders and the games of the youngsters in the courtezans' quarters: Dance, music, chatting with parrots and other birds or enjoying their talk, watching peacocks dancing, and ram and cock fighting, enjoying the swing *(Dola* or *Hindola)*, dice, dolls made of various materials, balls (*Kanduka*), laying flowers in different designs (which figures in the list of sixty-four *Kalās*) and so on The *Padmaprābhṛtaka* of *Śūdraka* refers to *Bāla-krīḍanaka* (p. 24, Daksina-bharati edn). The *Pādatāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka describes (p. 18, same edn.) a young courtezan blowing a whistle made of a leaf (Piñjola) (vv. 45, 46); the same Bhāṇa later (p. 27, ibid.) speaks of young courtezans stopping their games of ball-playing, Piñjola-blowing, and playing with dolls, for rushing out to see something exciting on the street.

It is the *Śṛṅgārasarvasva*[1] Bhāṇa of Nallā Dīkṣita of Kaṇḍaramāṇikkam village in Tanjore District of Tamilnadu of the time of Maratha King Sahaji of Tanjore (A.D. 1684–1711), that speaks of several of these pastimes and games as current in Tamilnadu. The first game mentioned is the hiding by one of a gem in one of several sand-heaps and another trying to find it out (p. 14). It is called *Maṇi-guptaka*, same as the one noted above as *Godhūmapuñjikā* in the *Jayamangalā* and in the extra verse in the *Meghadūta*. Next comes the *Pihitākṣi* (*Kaṇṇāmūcci* in Tamil), the blind-folded one trying to catch her friends who have hidden themselves in different places. Then come the wellknown Dice and Swing. Those that follow are interesting: *Yugmāyugmadarśana* (p. 24) in which one holds in the palm a handful of pearls (or other things like chowries) and asks another to say "odd or even," i. e. whether the palm that has been touched has an odd number of things and/or an even number. This is known in Tamil as "*Ottayā Raṭṭayā*" ('odd or even?'). The next game is *Gajapati-kusuma-kanduka* (p. 16). In a gathering of youngsters of both sexes, arrayed in two parties, a ball is thrown and is caught hold of by one; then three or four of the party of the latter enter the opposite party, take hold of a few of them and ride on them as on horses. Later in the Bhāṇa, some acrobatic feats are described to which we shall come a little later.

1. *Kāvyamālā* 78, 1925. Dr. S. K. De notes these in a footnote in his Note on the Bhāṇa in *JRAS*. London, 1926. My student Dr. S. S. Janaki deals with them in detail in her Oxford D. Phil. Thesis on the Bhāṇas (Typescript).

A few of the games of boys and girls, current in Tamilnadu - most of which must also be in vogue in other parts of the country, are noticed in the *Tamil Encyclopaedia*, vol. I, pp. 342–3. The antiquity of these games of girls is attested by their mention in the early Sangham classics in Tamil, *Kuṟuntokai, Naṟṟiṇai, Puṟanāṉūṟu* etc. A most interesting account of a large number of them, with their accompanying rhyming formulae by the boys and girls, is to be found in one of the pioneering Tamil novels, the *Prema-kalāvatyam* of S. V. Guruswami Sarma (Ist edn., Tiruchi, 1893). See pp. 37–45, III Reprint, Triplicane, Madras, 1940.

The most prominent among these pastimes associated with young women, the Swing (*Dolā* or *Hindola*) and wheeling around (*Bhramara*) figure in some well-known poems and plays. Under *Āndolanacaturthī* described above (pp. 111–2), it was noted that it was a feature of the *Śrāvaṇa* month. In Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, as already noted, it figures in Spring; so also in his *Raghuvaṁśa* IX.46 and XIX.44. Vararuci's Bhāṇa *Ubhayābhisārikā* (V.3) refers the *Dolā* to the Spring. Rājaśekhara's Prākṛt play, the *Karpūramañjarī* Saṭṭaka, has an elaborate description of this in several verses in Act II (*KM*.4, 1900, pp. 55–59). Rājaśekhara mentions at this place the occasion as *Hindola-caturthī* and a little earlier (p. 44) calls it *Hindolaprabhañjinī caturthī* and mentions that on that day, Gaurī is worshipped by the ladies. If this *Caturthī* is the same as the *Āndolana Caturthī*, its time would be *Śrāvaṇa* but Rājaśekhara's description here does not clearly indicate the season. Among the *Mahākāvyas*, Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅka-*

deva-carita gives a long description of it (VII.15–29) and the poet calls it a speciality which distinguishes Spring from other seasons (V.15).

Some of the Anthologies which collect together verses from different poems and plays, as also stray verses of several little known poets, include verses on the more prominent of these games mentioned above like the Ball the Swing, the Spinning round and the Closed Eyes. The *Sūktimuktāvali* of Jalhaṇa (GOS. 82, 1938, pp. 242–44) has verses on *Dolā-keli*, *Kanduka-krīḍā*, *Bhramara-krīḍā* (a verse from Rājaśekhara's *Viddhasāla-bhañjikā* (II. 9) in which the wheeling end of the *Sari*, the wheeling necklaces and the wheeling plaited hair, seem to create three circles), and the *Nimīlana-krīḍā*. The *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* collects several verses on *Bhramara-krīḍā* under *Śarat*, *Kandukakrīḍā* under *Hemanta*, and *Nimīlana-krīdā* under *Śiśira*. In his *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*, Rājaśekhara compares the tossing and spinning of the chariot in the air to *Bhramaraka* (*Bhramarakabhramam*); here *Bhramaraka* seems to mean a Top.

Playing with a Top, making it spin so finely that it appears to 'sleep,' as the saying goes, taking it on one's palm as it spins and letting it on the spinning top of another, is a common play of boys all over the country. The Tamil name of the Top, *Pambaram*, which occurs in the *Devāram* hymns and the *Kamba Rāmāyaṇam*, is probably derived from the Sanskrit form *Bambhrama* from the root *bhram*.

Of boys' games especially we have a large number given in some Purāṇas describing the boyhood of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula, the *Viṣṇu purāṇa, Harivaṁśa*, *Bhāgavata and*

Brahma purāṇa, all these carrying the same text. Similarly the *Gaṇeśa purāṇa* describes many games in connection with the boyhood of Gaṇeśa.

We shall take the reputed *Viṣṇu purāṇa* as the basis and notice these games (V. 9–6–15). The same text occurs in *Harivaṁśa* (Viṣṇuparvan 14), the *Bhāgavata* (X.i. 18, 12–23 and Śrīdhara thereon) and the *Brahma purāṇa* (*ASS.*) ch. 187. To begin with the *Viṣṇu* says that these games are wellknown in the world.

चेरतुर्लोकसिद्धाभिः क्रीडाभिरितरेतरम् ।

Spandolikā, also mentioned in the *Bhāgavata,* is the taking hold of a rope hanging from a tree and swaying and swinging (*Dolāvalambana*). The *Āndolana* and *Niyuddhas* or duels and wrestling have already been mentioned more than once. *Hariṇākrīḍana* is a pair of boys running a race, jumping or hopping like deer; the defeated one kneels and carries on his back the victor. The Banian tree called *Bhāṇḍīra* served as the goal in all such races *Kṣepaṇa* is throwing of things, fruits, balls etc., at each other and catching them. One acts like a bull or cow and another deals with him as a cowherd; some imitate a bull fight. There are the jumping like that of monkeys (*Markatotplavana*), Hide and Seek (*Nilāyana*), building bunds on rivers (*Setubandha*), (*Bhāg.* X–i. 11. 59), wheeling round, blindfolding one and asking him to catch others or identify the persons who touch him and the leap-frog (*Dardura-plāva* or *Maṇḍūka-pluti*). Some act like Kings. Some roar and fight like bulls and imitate other animals. Some play cows, calves and rams, others act as their gaurdians, and still some others as their thieves (*Bhag.* X.i.11; 39–40 and 37, 26–27 and Śrīdhara thereon).

One of the Princesses whom Kṛṣṇa gains, Nāgnajiti, is got as the prize of the sucessful taming of a a bull, *Vṛṣabhadamana* (*Bhāg.* X. ii. 58, 33, 41–47). Taming a bull was a common feat of strength and is mentioned among the games in the *Harivaṁśa* (*Viṣṇuparvan*, 20, 16) In the Tamil region, this wrestling with a fierce bull and subduing it is called ' Eṛutaḷuvutal ', comparable to the Spanish bull-fight. It is still in vogue in some parts near Madurai and is commonly called *Jallikkaṭṭu.* This is probably the *Udvṛṣabha* mentioned as a north Indian regional festival by Kumārila in his *Tanravārttika* (I. 3.(7). 15)

The *Gaṇeśa purāṇa* (Uttara. Ch. 93) describes the games of young Gaṇeśa with other boys. They hold each other's hand, divide themselves into two parties, play and stage fights. They indulge in throwing water, dust etc. at each other, in swinging, blowing horns and flutes, enacting the war of Devas and Asuras, and pulling each other's legs. The following variation of ball playing (*Kanduka-krīḍā*) is then described (vv. 40–5). One throws the ball up in the sky and another catches it; he who catches then mounts on the back of the one who had first hit the ball and in his turn strikes the ball on the ground, another catches it and mounts on the back of the previous one who had struck it and so on. If none catches it and the ball falls on the ground, one boy picks it up and, as the others are running away, throws it at one of them; and the one whom the ball strikes takes it and sends it up and the game follows as before.

Many of the games of boys and girls dealt with above are put together in the *Sāhityamīmāmsā* mentioned

already. The names are included in a long compound with a few new names in between and only the first two of these, quite obvious in their meaning, are explained and illustrated. (*TSS.*, pp. 153-4). Golakrīḍā is ball-playing (*Kanduka*). *Gūḍhavyāhāra* is use of different kinds of codes or symbolic expressions when the boys and girls talk to each other; it would include riddles and puzzles. As for the rest, the new names among them are quite obscure. As all of them occur in a prose passage in one long compound, it is even difficult to separate the names correctly. Thus we have 'Ghuṭī-pravartana-paṭṭikāyaṣṭikālekhana' and Kalūrandhikā (?). *Vastragranthikā* may be interpreted as producing semblances of birds, animals etc. by doing on one's hand different kinds of knotting pieces of cloth. *Śaubhanikā* (?) may refer to the art of the Śaubhanikas of Patañjali, namely mute communication of ideas through gestures. The last Maṇḍalinī is again obscure.

Reference was made above to the materials with which the play-things, the Toys, were made. We know of the 'little *clay*-cart' from the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka and the '*clay*-peacock' (*mṛttikā-mayūra*) from the last Act of the *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa. In the stories of *Vikramāditya*,[1] we find one in which young Śālivāhana, living in a *potter's* house, confronts King Vikrama and his four-fold army, with his own army of chariots, elephants, horses and footmen, all made of *clay* and animated. From archaeological excavation also we know of the world of terracotta Toys of ancient India.

1. *Vikramacarita* (edn. Edgerton, *HOS*. 27, story 24).

There is an interesting section on the play-things of children *(Bāla-Krīḍanaka)* in the Āyurvedic text *Kāśyapasaṁhitā* or *Vṛddhajīvakīya*[1] which deals with the treatment of children, *Kumārabhṛtyā* (pediatrics). Ch. XII of this text (p. 284) deals with matters relating to the period after the birth of the child and the auspicious rites of *Jātakarman*. In the sixth month, after cleaning a piece of ground in the centre of the house and marking off a circle or rectangle or square there, and after auspicious rites, all kinds of grains, clods of clay etc. are to be spread and Toys *(Bāla-krīḍanakāni)* made of flour (*piṣṭamayāni*) and baked, of course, are to be provided for. The text then gives a list of these Toys for male and female children : figures of cattle, elephant, camel, horse, ass, buffalo, ram, goat, deer, boar, monkey, man, *Śarabha*, lion, tiger, wolf, tortoise, fish, different kinds of birds, – parrot, cuckoo, swan, peacock, cock, and then hillocks, houses, chariots, carts etc. and little boys and girls and balls of different kinds.

A widespread Indian game which has travelled to the Western world is what is called now in the West *Snakes and Ladders*. In the South we call it *Parama-pada-sopāna-paṭa*, meaning the chart of the flight of steps leading to the supreme heaven. A Jain variety of this known as *Jñānakrīḍā* is among the exhibits in the L. D. Bharatiya Institute in Ahmedabad. It is known in some other parts of India as *Heaven and Hell.*[2]

1. Ed. by Rajaguru Hemaraja Sarma, Nepal Sanskrit Series 1, 1938.
2. See F. E. Pargiter, *JRAS.* 1916, pp. 539–42, An Indian Game : Heaven or Hell (with a folding Table).

This diagram, as used in the South India, represents the Universe including the higher and nether worlds according to Hindu Cosmogony, and the philosophy of going higher up in evolution through good acts and to lower forms of existence through bad acts, symbolised respectively by the ladders and the snakes. It is played with chowries and when one falls in a column of the ladders, there is progressive going up and if in a column of the snakes, there is going down. This would be a a proper note on which we could end our treatment of the festivals, games and pastimes.

X
CONCLUSION

Utsava, the Sanskrit name for festival, means really re-creation which is indeed a pregnant word full of suggestions for the regeneration of man It is also called *Maha*, for in a festival one is in his greater self, in an abundant and overflowing spirit, transcending the necessities and routines of life, an occasion for merging oneself in the community of fellow-beings and thereby enabling one to function, for the time being, in the common Universal Self as it were. When in play, *Krīḍā*, a disinterested, unattached, free play of one's joyous creative spirit, one is in the very image of God in his eternal *Līlā* expressing itself in the rhythm of the Universe. The Sanskrit word for God, *Deva*, and the word for 'play' are both derived from the same root meaning *Kriḍā* (*Divu krīḍāyām*).

Play is therefore not a luxury or something frivolous. It is the very core of our being. The idea of how Play is 'one of the bases of civilization', how 'in its

earliest phases culture has the 'play-character' and culture 'proceeds in the shape and mood of play' is developed by John Huizinga in his book *Homo Ludens– A Study of the Play-Element in Culture.*[1] After examining the play-element in different departments of human activity, the author sums up (ch. XI, p. 173): "It has not been difficult to show that a certain play-factor was extremely active all through the cultural process and that it produces many of the fundamental forms of social life. The spirit of playful competition is, as a social impulse, older than culture itself and pervades all life like a veritable ferment. Ritual grew up in sacred play; music and dancing were pure play........... We have to conclude therefore that civilization is, in its earliest phases, played. It does not come from play .... it arises *in* and *as* play, and never leaves it."

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1. Reprint, Boston, 1955.

ADDITIONS

P. 7, Fn. no. 10	The article 'Is Hindu Culture Other-worldly' has recently been reproduced in *Bhavan's Journal*, October 24, 1976, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.
P. 15, 11.9–10	On one doing all that a cow does, see also *Mahā Bhārata*, Udyoga 120.6–11 (Citrasala edn.), story of Mādhavī, daughter of Yayāti, adopting *Mṛgācāra* (mṛgāhāravicesṭitā).
P. 24, 1.8	Add Fn. 34-i : In addition to the ceremonial first ploughing and first sowing of the seed along with a piece of gold, worship of many deities, feasting and enjoyment of music and dance are mentioned here as part of the *Kṛṣyārambha* festival.
P. 41	Benefits of hunting. See also the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta 951.
P. 50	*Sālabhañjikā* in *Avadānaśataka*. See also Pāli Jātakas, edn. Fousboll, Vol. I, p. 52.
Pp. 50–1	Games, pastimes, accomplishments etc. referred to in Buddhist Texts: It is in the *Brahmajālasutta* (Sacred Books of the Budhists, Vol. II, pp. 7–20) that we have the largest list of these : Nṛtta, Gīta, Vādita, Prekṣā, Ākhyāna, Pāṇisāra (clap of hands for keeping

Tāla), Vaitālika, playing on pot, Śobhanāgaraka (Śobhanika), acrobatics on poles by Caṇḍālas, Combats of elephants, rams, cocks, quails, wrestling. sham-fights, chess, Ākāśa (Akkharikā of Kāma Sūtras?), Parihārapatha (hopscotch), Tip-Cat, making figures of different animals etc. on walls with palm and fingers dipped in colour, ball, toy-whistles, toy wind-mills made of palm-leaf (Tamil *Kāttāḍi*), palm-leaf toys, toy-carts, toy-bows, guessing letters traced in the air (see Akkharikā above), guessing a play-mate's thoughts (Mānasīkriyā of Kāma Sūtras ?), mimicry, palmistry, divining omens, dream-reading, fortune-telling, charms, snake-charming, poison-cure, curing bites of mouse, bird etc., knowledge of the languages of animals, evaluation of gems, garments, weapons, knowledge of the nature of human beings, animals, birds etc., medical aid, and so on.

P. 51, last 2 lines — This Vīṭā or Tip-cat is called *Kiṭṭi-puḷḷu* in Tamil.

P. 52, ll. 8–9 — *Mleccha-maha* and *Dāsī-maha*. Like these, the *Apabhramśakāvyatrayī* of Jinadattasūri (GOS. 37) mentions a sport called *Māghamālā* as fit for Viṭas.

P. 55	Krīḍās in Pāṇini. Add Pāṇini II. 2.27 and its illustrations in the *Kāśikā*, *Daṇḍādaṇḍi* and *Muṣṭāmuṣṭi*. See also *Amarakośa* III. 5, Liṅga, *Mauṣṭā* and *Pāllavā*, fights with fists and sprouts.
P. 58, 1.12	*Māhimānyaḥ Krīḍāḥ*, national Pastimes and Festivals. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* VIII–2072, (महीमानोत्सवास्थाने) seems to refer to this class of festivals.
P. 71, 11. 3–5	For an account of the Hunting festival in a Sanskrit Campūkāvya, see *JOR* Madras, XIV–i, 1940, pp. 17–40, my article on the *Virūpākṣavasantotsava Campū*.
P. 73	*Krīḍāśaila*. See also *Avantisundarī* of Daṇḍin (TSS. 172. 1954, p. 30), *Krīḍāparvatavihāra* in Varṣā. In this the King and the women put on the dress of hunters.
P. 77, para 2	*Koṣṭhakrīḍā*. See below Games of Boys and Girls, p. 223 ff.
P. 79, 11. 10–15	*Pāśaka* and *Śārīphalaka*. A corresponding Tamil game is *Padinaindāmpuḷḷi* with 15 pieces, which consist of two sets, 3 styled Tiger and 15, Dog.
Pp. 84-5	*Aṣṭamaīcandraka*. The *Jayamangalā* (III. 5, p. 213) gives its date as the eighth of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa.

Pp. 86–8	*Madana-trayodaśī* In the *Śivarātra*-section, ch. I, called *Tithiyāga*, the *Sanatkumāra Samhitā* (Adyar edn. 1969. pp. 128–131, vv. 293–317) describes in detail the worship of *Madana* on the *Trayodaśī* under the title *Kāma-yāga*. Along with the image of *Manmatha*, there should be the images of *Vāruṇī* (wine). *Vasanta* (Spring), *Soma* (Moon), *Rāga* (love), *Mada* (elation) and *Manmatha's* five *Śaktis* or weapons : *Tāpanī*, *Mohanī*, *Mardanī*, *Pramathinī* and *Hariṇī* in female forms. Also, the tree *Aśoka* and a trident *(Śūla)* should be set up. In the centre, a lotus should be drawn and *Aśoka* or Mango twig or *Mādhavī* creeper should be planted on the lotus. The images are to be dressed in red cloth, red ornaments, red sandal and worshipped with red flowers. The image of *Manmatha*, with bow and arrow, should be one of a youth of sixteen years of age. At the entrance of the shrine, there should be *Kāma's* banner *Makara*.
P. 95; 1.5 from bottom	On *Pasuvan*, see below p. 192.
P. 97, 1.3	Striking each other with water splashed by the hand, while bathing. This is called *Vyātyukṣī* (*Śisupālavadha* VIII. 32).

P. 97, ll.9–11	Playing on water as on the drum. See also Kālidāsa, *Raghuvaṁśa* XVI.64, water-sports of Kuśa-वारिमृदङ्गवाद्यम् ; also earlier XVI.13 : आस्फालितं यत्प्रमदाकराग्रैर्मृदङ्गधीरध्वनिमन्वगच्छत् ।
P. 97, ll.15–20	See also below pp. 191–2.
P. 100. Fn.	Verses from *Karpūramañjarī*. The fourth foot of the first verse here reads चेटीकर्मकरणे. In the *Abhinavabhāratī* and the *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, this *Ceṭī*-karman is given as *Cilli*-karman.
P. 101, l.19	After *Bhaviṣyottara*, add (Ch. 136).
P. 102–3	*Vaṭasāvitrī* and the things to be done at the *Vaṭa* tree. The account in the *Nāradapurāṇa* (I.124.9–12) says that women should water the *Vaṭa* and tie cotton threads 108 times round the trunk of the tree.
P. 104, l.10	Add : The Children form a group (*Ḍimbha-maṇḍalī*) and do *Tāṇḍava*-dance.
P. 105, para 2	*Skānda* and *Bhūtamātṛ* festival. See also *Bhaviṣyottara*, Ch. 134.
P. 105, Fn. 1	To the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* edn. mentioned here, add the following page references : Introduction, pp. 134–6, *Goṇḍali;* pp. 137–141, *Peraṇī*: Text pp. 211, 229.
P. 107	Under *Āraṇyaṣaṣṭhī*, after para 2, and the name *Jāmātṛṣaṣṭhī* add : The *Jāmātṛṣaṣṭhī* is for fraternising and honouring the Son-in-law, even as the

Bhrātṛdvitīyā is for the Brother. We have now in U. S. and Canada Days called Mother's Day, Father's Day and so on. On the day devoted to the Son-in-law, he is invited, feasted and given various presents. The mother-in-law puts sandal mark on his forehead, touches his head with *Dūrvā* grass and wishes him long life and prosperity, and as a symbol of fulness, gives him five whole fruits including a cocoanut.

P. 110, para starting with 1.7 from below, add the heading : *Varṣamaha*; and add here as first sentence : In Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, an illustrative verse (v.406, p. 601) speaks of a *Varṣamaha*.

P. 111, para 2 — *Āndoanacaturthī*. This is evidently the same as the *Hindolacaturthī* described at length by *Karpūramañjarī* II.29–40.

Pp. 111–2 — *Āndolanacaturthī*. Add : In Orissa, there is a festival called *Raja* on the last day of Jyeṣṭha and the first four days of Āṣāḍha, in which girls gather, sing and enjoy swinging.

Pp. 112–3 — *Navapatrikā* : The *Kāma Sūtras* III.4 (p. 217) say that occasions like the *Navapatrikā* should be used for conveying secret symbolic messages

	through *Patracchedya*, the art of cutting designs on leaves.
P. 113, Fn.	*JASB* 1870, pp. 227–8. Add writer's name : Pratapachandra Ghosha.
P. 115	*Kandukakrīḍā*. For an actual description of ball playing as a dance, see *Nṛttaratnāvalī* pp. 221–2, *Kanduka-nṛtta*.
P. 123	*Indradhvaja* references in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Add Vālmīki III.26.13.
P. 126, 11.14–19	*Raghuvaṁśa* IV.3 on *Indradhvaja*. In his Commetary on this, Mallinātha gives a new detail. That a *Dhvaja*-like square piece is fixed at the portals of the King and that this is for the weal of the people. चतुरस्त्रं ध्वजाकारं राजद्वारे प्रतिष्ठितम् । आहुः शक्रध्वजं नाम पौरलोकसुखावहम् ॥ (*Bhaviṣyottara ?*)
P. 158, 11.5–8	*Doll-show* : Add : Tribals in some parts of Bengal have a doll festival called *Tusu* (doll) in Pauṣa (Dec.–Jan.).
P. 158–9	*Navarātri* : The Nagar women of Gujarat have in the nights *Garabā*, circular dance with clap of hands and simple steps, and with songs on Ambā. They also do this with sticks, (*Daṇḍa-rāsaka*). Formerly, in *Garabā*, each carried a perforated pot with a lamp inside.

Pp. 164-5 *Govatsadvādaśī* and *Gokrīḍā;* also p. 181, *Māṭṭuppoṅgal*:

A single object around which the largest number of festivals etc. is to be seen is *Go*, Cow and Cattle. The Purāṇas particularly mention several *Vratas* for the worship of Cows: *Gotrirātra-vrata* (at Dīpāvali time); *Gopadatrirātri* (Proṣṭhapada; anointing the cow, offering it grass etc.); *Go-yugmavrata* (Devīpurāṇa); *Go-ratnavrata* (Devīpurāṇa); *Gośānti* (Śiva-dharma); *Vṛṣavrata* (Kārttika; Padma Purāṇa); *Vṛṣotsarga* (Āśvayuk or Kārttika); *Gopāṣṭamī* (Kārttika Śukla); *Gopadmavrata* (Smṛtikaustubha); *Gopālanavamī* (C. Cintāmaṇī); *Gopūjā* (CC.) and *Goṣṭhāṣṭamī* (Bhoja's *Bhujabalanibandha*), same as *Gopāṣṭamī*.

These show the role of the Cow and Cattle in human activities, what man owes to them and the acts of thanks-giving and adoration which he offers to them. Most of these however lean on the religious side rather than on the festive.

P. 177 Under *Kaumudījāgara*, add: There is a story attached to this, featuring the voices of different beings and one's ability to listen and understand them, comparable to the story of

Kaikeyī's mother. See also *Kharaputta Jātaka*. (*JASB.NS*. XXVI. 1930, pp. 389-391)

P. 180. After para 1, add :

Goṣṭhāṣṭamī

In his *Bhujabalanibandha*, Bhoja gives a *Goṣṭhāṣṭamī*, apparently on the Pauṣa Śukla Aṣṭamī, for the colophon below reads 'iti pauṣamāsa-kṛtyam'. But in more than one text this is mentioned under the Kārttika month and evidently it is the same found in some other texts under Kārttika as *Gopāṣṭamī*. According to Bhoja's verse, this is a festival of worshipping the cow, feeding it, circumambulating it and following it all along as it roams about and attending upon it. The last act is called *Go-anugamana*, which is the same as the *vrata* which Kālidāsa describes as performed by Dilīpa in cantos 1 and 2 of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, a *vrata* already given by Manu and Yājñavalkya *as an expiatory rite*. (*prāyaścitta*). See my article 'Kālidāsa and the Smṛtis', *JBBRAS*. (NS) XXIX ii. Dec. 1954, pp. 55-57.

P. 198

Holākā (Holi): In this festival, according to the *Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara (Pt. III. p. 60), the song called *Carcarī* in Prākṛt and in Rāga

Hindola is to be sung. See also *ibid*, p. 33 (v. 303).

Pp. 209–11 — Like the *Mānasollāsa*, *Śivatattvaratnākara* and the *Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā*, there is a thesaurus of the activities, games, amusements etc. of the King, called *Nṛpālavilāsa* by Śivarāma Tripāṭhin, who wrote it under Ranavira Singh of Jammu and Kashmir (19th Cent.). See Stein's Catalogue of Mss. in Raghunath Temple in Jammu, ms. no. 1321, Introduction p. xxxii.

P. 213, Fn. 1 — Add first the reference : *Marg*, III. 1949, pp. 36–56.

P. 225, LL.1–2 — Throwing up spherical pieces by one hand and catching them by the other in front and back. (Tamil *Ammānai*). The *Śṛṅgāra Sarvasva* Bhāṇa of Nallā Dīkṣita (KM.78–1925) noticed below, calls this game *Ambara-karaṇḍaka*. The piece thrown up may be a wicker-ball or one studded with some precious stones (*Ratna* or *Maṇi Karaṇḍaka*) (Śls. 69/71)

In Burma there is a common outdoor game played in the streets in which the boys kick the wicker-ball, receive it and kick again, by their feet, not hands, in front and the back,

thus keeping it above ground as long as possible. This is called *Chinlon.*

P. 227, L. 1 — Playing with sand-mounds raised on the Gangā. *Cf.* also the *Vikramorvaśīya,* IV, prologue : "ततस्तत्र मन्दाकिनी-तीरे सिकतापर्वतैः क्रीडमाना उदयवती नाम विद्याधर-दारिका तेन राजर्षिणा चिरं निध्याता —"

CORRECTIONS

Page	*Line*	*Read*
32	21	रथस्थेन
54	4 from below	Pastimes also which
55	8	are self-explanatory
66	Fn. 1, 1.1	*Saindhava*
68	9	*Pārāvata*
70	Fn. line 2	Edn. of *Śyainika Śāstra*. Add year of publication : 1910.
76	1	Agnivarṇa
71	20–8	
79	Fn. last line	Catalogus
111	Fn. 3, 1–2, and last but one line :	रजोभरितनिर्भरोच्छ्वसित: and कुसुमानि निपतन्ति
114	Fn.	Edn. of *Peruṅkathai* : Correct the year of publication as 1924.
119	1.4 from below	*Udvamśīya*
133	Fn. 1, 1–2	*Mātṛkās*
137	20	and also mishaps
139	15	Vratakhaṇḍa
158	last but one line	*Āyudha Pūjā.*
165	Fn. 1, l. 2	*Snānam*
165	Fn. 2, l. 3	*Manglatha*
180	21	Before this, insert section heading : *Hemanta-Śiśira*
183	25	Delete *Hemanta*
	26	*Hemanta-Śiśira* seasons now follow.
191	15	*Ambā-āḍal*
194	Fn. 3	कर्तव्या
197	1	*Dolotsava*
200	5 from below	gives
209	12	*Śivatattvaratnākara*
210	12	*Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā*

211	11	Before this, insert section number IX (Antique type)
213	6	painted
216	8	यथान्यायं
	11	वालगतैश्च
	13	दाि तं
	18	नियुद्धे
217	5	मृषामृधं
221	12	*Śuruḷ-vāl*
223	22	*Śaṭuguḍu or Balīn-śaṭuguḍu.*
225	9	p. 77
226	12	*Maṇḍūkikā*
227	1	*-vedikās*

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See also Bloomfield, JAOS. XIV. pp. 298, 300.

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FURTHER ADDITION

On the Seasonal Celebrations, the following further additional material may be noted: At the end of his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (GOS. I, 3rd edn. 1934, pp. 101–5), Rājaśekhara has a long series of verses describing the Seasons. Here he mentions in Spring the enjoyment of Swing, *singing of songs on Gaurī's story*, worship by women of Madana and of their husbands as an embodiment of Madana, and worship of Madana with *Damanaka*. (p. 105). In Śarat, Rājaśekhara mentions on the Mahānavamī-day of the Navarātrī, the worship of all weapons and the waving of light before horses, elephants and soldiers (p. 101).

Additional Corrections

Page	Line	Read
5	1	celebrations
17	Fn.l.1	exhilarate
19	Fn.l.2	including
22	18	barley
	Fn.ll.8–9	Barnes
23	5	barley
74	22	minstrels
75	12	forms part
77	17	Checker-board
127	9	pantomime
135	16	Trātāram
137	12	Plantain
154	4	lightning
184	6	vine
204	7 from below	should
207	5 ,, ,,	says
211	2 ,, ,,	Bāṇavidyā
220	4	princes
237	5 from below	Buddhist

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